

**THE FIRST
PROTESTANT
OSAGE MISSIONS**

1820-1837

Wm. W. GRAVES



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The first Protestant Osage
missions 1820-1837

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THE FIRST PROTESTANT OSAGE MISSIONS 1820-1837

By
Wm. W. Graves.

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Abbreviations Used in this Book.

CO—Chronicles of Oklahoma.

KSHS—Kansas State Historical Society. Collections.

KHQ—Kansas State Historical Society Quarterly.

CH—Connelly's History of Kansas.

CHR—Catholic Historical Review, St. Louis.

MHR—Missouri Historical Review, Columbia.

MHSC—Missouri Historical Society Collections, St. Louis.

JMUS—Jesuits of the Middle United States, by Garraghan.

HHM—Houck's History of Missouri.

ABCFM—American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

UFMS—United Foreign Missionary Society.

AMR—American Missionary Register.

MH—Missionary Herald.

FOREWORD.

The Osages, because of their isolated location in western Missouri and farther west and southwest, separated by several days journey from the white settlements along the Mississippi and lower Missouri rivers, and also because of their warlike disposition, were slow to intermingle with the whites. The Spaniards claimed dominion over them for several years but made no friendly gestures except those of barter. The French were friendlier, but their intermittent rule limited their opportunities. The Osages therefore still retained most of their original ways of life when the missionaries came among them in 1820. The founders of these missions were the first white people to bring their families and actually live among the Osages and closely associate with them. The traders who came earlier were itinerants who left no historical records.

The United States government, soon after it began dealing with these Indians, was quick to discover that the French method of sending missionaries instead of soldiers, to bring peace and good will to the natives was a practical way of handling a serious problem, then growing more serious. The French plan might not win in all cases, but the odds were in its favor. This gave rise to the system of governmental aid to recognized missionary societies that would cooperate with the governmental policies.

Already there had arisen in the New England states, a wave of missionary enthusiasm which had resulted in the formation of a number of missionary societies, primarily planned for the foreign field, but at the suggestion of the government, they were extended to include the American Indians. This was the situation when the United Foreign Missionary Society was organized in New York in 1817, and began to select its field of operation. From this came the five mission among the Osage Indians.

These early missions were frequently called Presbyterian, probably because their first organized churches followed the Presbyterian form, but really they were sponsored by three denominations: Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches represented by the United Foreign Missionary Society. Rev. Dodge and some of his associates were Congregationalists.

Only two missions, Union and Harmony, were directly organized by the United Foreign Missionary Society, among the Osages. The other three grew out of these. Hopefield was started by members of the Union family in order to carry on a work not suited to Union itself. Neosho Mission was started by the Harmony family because of the removal of large numbers of Osages from Harmony to the Neosho river. Boudinot Mission was also established by Harmony to continue

the work of the Neosho Mission after the removal of Rev. Pixley. Only one other organized mission was ever maintained among these Indians before their removal to their present home in Oklahoma about 1872. It was established at Osage Mission, where St. Paul, Kansas, is now located, only a short distance from Boudinot, by the Jesuits in 1847, ten years after the close of the Presbyterian missions.

These five Presbyterian missions are noted in history as having been the first missions of any kind established among the Osage Indians, the first in what is now western Missouri, and also the first in the present states of Kansas and Oklahoma. They were truly pioneer missions, among primitive people, in a wilderness many, many miles beyond the border of civilization. The experiences, trials and tribulations of those courageous missionary families, transplanted from cultured New England to an unexplored wilderness, a land of savagery, where they spent fifteen of their most active years, as delineated in their letters, diaries and reports, mark an interesting episode of a period and place much neglected by historians. These experiences ran the scale from thrilling adventures, exciting scenes, distressing incidents and depressing failures to encouraging success and the satisfaction of having done their very best toward spreading the light of God's kingdom on earth. The missionaries tell of the stubborn resistance of the very people they came to save, many of whose beliefs, traditions, customs and manners ran counter to those of Christian civilization.

The trail-blazing missions did not achieve what was expected of them, but this may be classed as an error of expectation rather than as a lack of diligence on the part of the missionaries. The Indians had scant ideas of missionaries. Their contacts with the whites had been few, and these few had been with the rougher class. The problems confronting the missionaries were more serious than either they or their sponsors had anticipated.

I have spent several years in gathering data about these missions and have found it quite interesting. The part these missionaries played in the actual drama of life of that early period, was no less eventful and exciting than the delineations of the better class of western fiction; and it was an actuality, not a make-believe. I have gone much into detail in writing this, that the readers may know of the real life around these institutions, and of the conditions to be met there. I have also given a brief history of the Osage tribe for the same reason. I have quoted most liberally from the letters and reports of the missionaries, believing that their narratives of events and conditions would convey more accurate information than anything that might be written by an outsider more than a century later. I have earnestly and sincerely en-

deavored not to overdraw, or to underestimate or undervalue situations, conditions or events in their relation to the subject treated, but to give facts as near as I could ascertain them. Fidelity to the truth has been my strictest aim, and if I have erred, it has been because of defective authorities or deficient available information.

If my efforts in this book serve to bring those pioneer missions from obscurity, preserve their heroic story to posterity, and bring a proper measure of credit to the courageous participants I shall feel justified in the labors expended.

Wm. W. Graves.

The Osage Indians.

Early Osage History.

The first recorded information of the Osage Indians was given to the world by Father Jacques Marquette, S. J., in his map showing their location on the Osage river in western Missouri at the time he made his historic tour of discovery down the Mississippi river in 1673. There is no evidence that he visited the Osage country, but the accuracy of his map strongly indicates that he must have obtained his information from members of the tribe, or at least from some of their near neighbors. The map contains no information concerning them other than their location.

That the Osages were visited by white men before the time of Father Marquette is held by Houck (1) and others who base their belief on conclusions drawn from sparse and rather indefinite information concerning the expeditions of DeSoto and Coronado. Phillips (2) says "the first white men to set foot on the territory of the Osages were those under the intrepid Spanish Francisco de Coronado in 1542." Phillips also tells of a party of Osage hunters, southward, who saw a body of cavalry marching westward. These he believed to be DeSoto's band of explorers. The armored soldiers were the first ever seen by the Osages. Likewise these were the first horses the Osages ever saw, horses not being native in this country.

Houck holds with Phillips, saying "Undoubtedly DeSoto and his adventurous followers marched through territory now within the limits of Missouri." (3) Houck also contends that Coronado reached the Missouri river and states that the description Coronado gave of the natives he met fits the Osage closer than any other tribe. (5)

The above are only deductions which cannot be proven from definite records, but they have many supporters.

The first white man to visit the Osages, of whose visit there is an undisputed record, was M. Du Tissenet (frequently written Dutisne). He spent several days during the summer of 1719 at the "great village", on the river to which he was the first to bestow the tribal name. (6)

Origin of the Osages.

The original habitat or ancestral home of the Osages is shrouded in mystery as far as positive information is concerned; but, "according to their language and traditions, (7) many hundred years ago the five

1. Houck's History of Missouri, v. 1, p. 98.
2. C. J. Phillips, in Osage Magazine, Pawhuska, Okla., 1909.
3. Houck's Histcry of Missouri v. 1, p. 98.
4. Same, v. 1, p. 106, quoting Irving's Conquest of Florida, p. 114.
5. Same, v. 1, p. 115.
6. History of Vernon County, Missouri, (Holccmb) pp. 93-94.
7. Fifteenth Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, p. 191.

tribes, Kansa, Osage, Omaha, Ponca and Kwapa, were one people, and lived along the Wabash and far up the Ohio." There was even a tradition that their home at one time was near the shores of "the sea of the rising sun, from whence came the mysterious sacred shells of the tribe." (8) Connelly shows a similar view when he states that "it is well known that the habitat of the Siouan tribes of the great plains and the northwest were originally east of the Alleghanies, in the Piedmont regions of Virginia and the Carolinas." (9) Authorities all agree that the above named tribes were originally all members of one tribe, and that they belonged to the Siouan linguistic family.

Tradition is less dependable as to time than to place, which makes it impossible in this case to determine when the westward migration of these tribes started and how long it was in progress. The journey westward was probably made by degrees, and may have required centuries. Food, greater freedom and escape from enemies have been common causes for Indian migration, and most tribes have been influenced by one or more of them. One tradition has it that the Osages and their companions resided for a period along the Wabash, which probably was one of their halts on their way westward. Mooney says, "As early as 1707, Gravier stated that the Ohio was known as the river of the Arkansia, because that people had formerly lived along it. The Arkansia (Arkansas or Kwapa) are a Siouan tribe, living at that time on the lower Arkansas river. (10) More than sixty years ago Major Sibley, (11) one of the best authorities of that period, in regard to the western tribes, obtained from an aged chief of the Osage—a well known Siouan tribe, speaking the same language as the Kwapa—a statement which confirms that of Gravier. The chief said that the tradition had been steadily handed down from the ancestors that the Osage had originally migrated from the east, because the population had become too numerous for their hunting ground. He described forks of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers and the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, where he said they had dwelt some time."

The trend of the buffalo herds towards the west was no doubt a factor. This was in evidence even after the advent of the whites.

Tradition has it that these Indian tribes all remained as one tribe until they reached the Mississippi river, where they were divided, those going up the river being called the Omaha, those going down the river being called Kwapa or Quapaw. The Poncas went with the Omahas, while the Kansas and Osage continued to move westward

8. Geo. P. Morehouse, in K.S.H.S. Collections, v. 10, p. 329.

9. W. E. Connelly, in K.S.H.S. Collections v. 14, p. 445.

10. James Mooney, in Siouan Tribes of the East, pp. 9-10. Gravier was a Jesuit missionary who came to the Illinois missions in 1689.

11. Major Sibley's Biography, in Houck's History of Missouri. v. 3, p. 149.

until they reached the Mississippi river, where they were divided, Just when this division took place is not known, except that it must have been about 1500 or sooner, for DeSoto came in contact with the Kwapa in 1541 when he crossed the Mississippi on his westward trip.

When the Europeans first met the Osages, they found them to be of a wandering nature, and although they had a location on the Osage river where they resided at times, they roamed all over much of what is now Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and frequently into Illinois.

Location and Condition of the Tribe

George C. Sibley, United States Factor at Fort Osage (Clark) told of the location of the Osages and the conditions prevailing among them, in a letter he wrote October 1, 1820, about the time the missionaries came among them: (12)

"The tribes who usually hold intercourse with this trading house are

"1st. The Kansas, residing about 300 miles up the Kansas river, in one village. I rate this tribe at about 800 souls.

"2nd. The Great Osages of the Osage River. They live in one village on the Osage river, seventy-eight miles (measured) due south from Fort Osage. They hunt over a very great extent of country, comprising the Osage, Gasconade and Neeozho rivers and their numerous branches. They also hunt on the heads of the St. Francis and White rivers, and on the Arkansas. I rate them at about one thousand two hundred souls, three hundred and fifty of whom are warriors and hunters, fifty or sixty superanuated and the rest women and children.

"3rd. The Great Osages of the Neeozho, about one hundred and thirty or forty miles southwest of Fort Osage; one village of the Neeozho river. They hunt pretty much in common with the tribe of the Osage river from which they separated six or eight years ago. This village contains about four hundred souls, of whom about one hundred are warriors and hunters, some ten or fifteen aged persons and the rest women and children. Papuisca or White Hair is the chief.

"4th. The Little Osages. Their village on the Neeozho river, from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty miles south of this place. This tribe comprising all three villages, and comprehending about twenty families of Missouris that are intermarried with them, I rate at about one thousand souls, about three hundred of them are warriors, twenty or thirty superanuated, and the rest are women and children. They hunt pretty much in common with the other tribes of the Osages mentioned, and frequently on the headwaters of the Kansas, some of the branches of which are interlocked with those of the Neeozho.

"5th. The Ioways only visit this place occasionally. This tribe is about as numerous as the Kansas.

"6th. Of the Chaneers or Arkansas tribe of Osages, I need to say nothing, because they do not resort here to trade. I have always rated that tribe at about an equal

12. Letter of Thomas L. McKenney, taken from Moore's Report on Indian Affairs, p. 203; Appendix: copied in Missouri Historical Review, October 1914 pp. 44-49.

half of all Osages. They hunt chiefly on the Arkansas and White Rivers and their waters.

"It must be understood that the above is merely an estimate of numbers founded on the general knowledge I have of the several tribes mentioned, and without any pretension of accuracy, though I do not believe I am far from the truth. As relates to the Osages; it is next to impossible to enumerate them correctly. They are continually removing from one village to another, quarrelling or inter-marrying, so that the strength of no particular village can be correctly ascertained. I do not believe that any of the tribes named above, increase in numbers, take them in the aggregate, and I think they are rather diminishing. They are always at war and not a year passes that they do not lose some that way. Epidemic diseases attack them now and then and sweep them off by families.

"The main dependence of each and every tribe I have mentioned, for clothing and substance, is hunting.

"They raise annually small crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins, these they cultivate entirely with the hoe, in the simplest manner. Their crops are usually planted in April, and receive one dressing before they leave their villages for the summer hunt, in May. About the first week in August they return to their villages to gather their crops, which have been left unhoed and unfenced all the season. Each family, if lucky, can save ten or twenty bags of corn and beans, of a bushel and a half each; besides a quantity of dried pumpkins. On this they feast, with the dried meat saved from the summer, till September, when what remains is cached, and they set out for the fall hunt, from which they return about Christmas. From this time till sometime in February or March, as the season happens to be mild or severe, they stay pretty much in their villages, making only short hunting excursions occasionally, and during that time they consume the greater part of their caches. In February or March the spring hunt begins; first the bear, and then the beaver hunt. This they pursue until springtime, when they again return to their village, pitch their crops, and in May set out for the summer hunt. This is the circle of Osage life, here and there indented with wars and trading expeditions; and thus it has been with but very little variation, these twelve years past. The game is very sensibly diminishing, but it has not yet become scarce. Its gradual diminution seems to have no other effect on the Indians than to make them more expert and industrious hunters, and better warriors. They also acquire more skill in traffic, become more and more prone to practice fraud and deception in their commerce; and more and more dependent upon the traders, and consequently more debased and degraded.

"These people derive a portion of their subsistence regularly from the wild fruits their country abounds with. Walnuts, hazelnuts, pecans, acorns, grapes, plums, papaws, persimmons, hog potatoes and several other nutritious roots; all of these they gather and preserve with care, and possess the art of preparing many of them so they are really good eating.

"From these facts you will not be surprised to learn that the arts of civilization have made but little progress, as yet among the Indians of this quarter, knowing as you do the natural propensity of the Indians to live without toil, upon the bounties of wild nature, rather than to submit to what he considers the degradation of labor, in order to procure a subsistence. So long as the facilities I have enumerated, exist, so long will exist the propensity to rely chiefly on them.

"Like all people in a state of ignorance, they are bigoted, and obstinately adhere to their old customs and habits. 'Tis vain to attempt to bend the aged oak to our purposes. The tender saplings, however, can be made to yield to our efforts and bend to our will. The missionary establishment now forming near Osage, I have no doubt

will tend much to promote the civilization of these tribes, so far at least as regards the rising generation. Few, if any of those now above the age of fifteen will ever wholly abandon their present savage pursuits."

In concluding the above, Mr. Sibley advocated the setting apart of lots of 160 acres or more for the use of any members of the tribe who showed a disposition to settle down, where "each individual may thus be secure in his own right. He may have a house where he and his family may live securely on the fruits of their own industry."

The Osages as the Missionaries Saw Them.

The most dependable story of the conditions, morals, manners and customs of the Osages early in the nineteenth century, is that told by the missionaries who daily came into contact with them in their own homes, and who made a study of these people first hand. They saw conditions that revealed the Osages as they really were. Some of their letters are quoted below.

Reverend Vaill, one of the original members of the Union Mission where he served both as a teacher and missionary, wrote this in 1826 to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, of Boston, under which he was working: (1)

Name and Character.

"They call themselves Wau-sau-she. From hence, Osage.

"They do not wander exclusively, like some western tribes; still they are a wandering people. They settle in their villages long enough to plant their corn. They go forth in a body once or twice a year, on their great buffalo hunts, towards the southwest, and with this is usually connected an expedition against the Pawnees, a tribe on or near Red River, with whom they are perpetually at war. On these great hunts they march in single file, in two paralleled columns, extending several miles in length, and moving, it is said with great order. They encamp together, and form a temporary village every night. Their marches or wanderings, they transport all the coverings to their houses, their cooking utensils and provisions; and continue the same community interest as in their village.

"In person, the Osages are generally tall, and make a noble appearance. Their inventions are few; for when they show you their bows, arrows, pipes and curious belts, you have seen all. Many of their females are beginning to make their own garments. They are naturally amiable and friendly, and always shake hands with a smile on their countenances. Though they love hunting and delight in war, they have never been known to torture prisoners. If they decide on war, they will go to war, and kill, and take all they can; but it is soon over, and prisoners are well treated. If anyone has lost a child the prisoner is made to supply its place. A Pawnee boy or girl sometimes receives, if possible, more affection and attention than an own child because adopted in the room of one dead. Strangers are always pleased with the hospitality of these people. They will divide the last meal, and never suffer one to go hungry from their village, or remain there in want, if they have to give. Their custom is, when a stranger arrives in town, to invite him to many

1. The first letter appeared in the *Missionary Herald*, v. 22, pp 267-271, September 1826; the second, same paper, v. 23, p. 9, January, 1827.

feasts. Some have been invited to fifteen or twenty the same evening. Their meals consist of one dish served in a wooden bowl, with a spoon made from a buffalo horn: and you cannot please them more than to taste their feasts. Yet, with all their hospitality to strangers, they will sometimes leave an aged father or mother to perish and die alone, far from home, without food, friends or pity. They are not quarrelsome among themselves, but they are remarkable for mildness. Nor are they intemperate. In six years, I have not seen one of them drunk. They are afraid of whiskey, and call it firewater. They like the water but not the fire. Their manners are simple, and their morals untainted by intercourse with the whites. The magnanimity of those who gave themselves up to be tried for their lives, exceeds almost anything of modern times.

"It ought here to be said in justice to the Osages, who are hated by their white neighbors for plundering and killing, that the poor creatures are tempted to do it. White hunters crowd their country. Frontier settlers will leave their plantations and go in pursuit of deer and buffalo, and thus destroy what the Indians depend on for their subsistence. The number of white hunters has sometimes been several thousands; and it is a common thing to kill thousands of deer for their skins, and thousands of buffalo for their tongues.

Removals.

"Clamore and his band separated from the Great Osages about forty years ago, and removed to the Verdigris. These people are not the little Osages, as is generally supposed, but properly a division of the Great Osages. The Little Osages are a small band who were formerly settled on the waters of the Missouri, but now reside on the Neosho. And the removal of White Hair's band, or the Great Osages, from Missouri to Neosho took place about four years ago. The villages are much nearer together than formerly; still a jealousy exists between the different chiefs, each one fearing lest the other should supplant him. This jealousy occasions great trouble in the nation, and makes it difficult to control the people. The population of the tribe is estimated at about 8000, of which Clamore's band is about 3000. In general council Clamore is acknowledged first chief. The design of the United States government is to unite them as soon as possible under one chief.

Government.

"The chiefs have only power to advise. Criminals usually escape, unless they choose to submit to punishment; though murderers are sometimes punished by the hand of a near relative. We have one or two instances of their punishment by death for adultery, and for disobedience to parents. In one instance, a female became exceedingly vile, and none could reclaim her. At length an old man plunged a knife into her bosom, and she died on the spot. He then went to the brook, washed his knife, returned to his lodge, and all acquiesced. Whatever civil government does exist, however, is in the hands of braves or warriors. The chief's dare do nothing without consulting them.

Poverty.

"This is extreme. The chief property of the Osages is in horses and dogs. Some of the richest have, perhaps, ten to fifteen horses. Their dogs are like so many hungry wolves. Let a stranger walk the village, and the dogs will pour out from every door, hungry and mad enough to bite, and yet so faint and weak that they will flee when they see a club. Many families have nothing, and can get nothing, unless a friend gives them a blanket or food. The boys generally go naked till about six years old, and the whole value of a child's clothing for the first fifteen years would not be one dollar. Many a mother with a large family has no covering for her children, except one or two dirty deer skins. And this poverty causes them to become beggars.

"Begging seems to be systematized among them. It is honorable. None, whether plebians or princes, hesitates to beg. They seem to feel that all white people are

rich, and that all are indebted to them. Their system of trading is, to trade some and beg much. Hence the traders, to meet the general taste, have had to raise the price of what they do sell, that they may leave room for some presents. The Missionaries among them are very greatly tried by this habit of the people. They have indeed succeeded in checking it of late, and the Osages are improving.

"The Osages are remarkable for always being at war, without being a war-like people. They have a strange superstition arising from dreams. One bad dream will turn back a whole army. In the year of 1821, about 400 warriors set out against the Cherokees of the Arkansas. They made great preparation, and the dread of them fell on all of their enemies. The white people were moving a hundred miles down the river into forts. Had they proceeded, they might have conquered the Cherokees, if not by the strength of arms, by the fear that went before them. But one of their leaders dreamed a bad dream, and they foreboded evil, and all returned. They go to war in a body, but return separately; and their fighting is done in savage style. One attack during one campaign suffices, especially if they obtain a few scalps. They have too great an individual interest to admit patriotism. Every man has his own personal glory to win, by killing an enemy; so that where a warrior has obtained a single scalp, regarding it as a great deal of glory for him, he is ready to return. This weakens and discourages the rest. Hence it is, as I have said, that they return separately, and one after another.

"Before going to war they have many ceremonies — counsel much — consult the oracles; and on this occasion, their doctors have much to do. Dreamers relate their dreams, and conjurers ask counsel of the sacred bird, which they now expose to view. They then paint their faces, and tie to their hair the deer's tail. In the onset, they raise the whoop of war. On their return from war they approach the town with proud feelings, and the youth hold the dishes from which they drink water. When the scalp is elevated on a pole, and preparations made for the dance, the warrior walks the town, and seems to think there is none greater than himself.

Second Letter by Reverend Vaill.

"Among the Osages, a plurality of wives is allowed. Each husband, if he proves himself to be a man of character, is entitled to all the sisters of the same family by the same mother. In marrying, the oldest or first wife, they have great ceremonies such as a procession, feasting, firing, displaying the United States colors, etc. And she is the wife or best beloved. The rest fall into the rank of wives, as a matter of course, when they become of suitable age. There is a degree of affection between the parties, but always attended with a spirit of servitude and fear on the part of the woman. And their condition is truly degraded; for while the men are reclining at their ease in their camps, smoking, or telling stories, or engaged in the sport of war, or of hunting, the females have to build their houses, plant their corn, dress the skins, transport the baggage and wood and water, and bear many a heavy burden. They have not one day of rest from their marriage until death. It is one unceasing round of servitude and drudgery."

Reverend Vaill tells of the scenes following the death of a son:

"The wretched mother is now in the deepest distress. She cries and howls, and tears her hair, and smites upon her breast, and wrings her hands. Then for a moment, she ceases until the conjurer has done his last office; which is to paint the face of the dying youth that it may be known in the other world to what clan he belongs, and that he may please his god, and be accepted by him. The young man dies. It is seen that he is gone. And now the lamentations of surviving friends increase seven fold. When one company of mourning women is exhausted, another comes and takes up the prolonged and sad lamentation. Then they carry the dead, wrapped in the skin of a buffalo, lay him upon the earth, and raise over him a mound of earth or stone. From this time the father may be sitting beside the mound, day after

day, fasting, his hair growing long, his face covered with earth. So intent is he upon his loss, that he sees not the strangers that pass by into the town, though there is no event which attracts more attention from the Indians generally, than the appearance of white people.

"But this man is in sorrow. And he cries to his departed son: 'My son, you make me unhappy, you are not with me, I must hunt and go to war alone.' Then raising his voice to his God he says, 'My God, have pity on me, my son is gone, I am poor, pity me, help me to go to war, and secure the scalp of mine enemies, that I may feast and make my heart glad again.' It has been the custom of these people and is still, not to cease mourning till they have sacrificed some enemy. Many of their war excursions against the Pawnees, indeed most of them, are to comfort someone that mourns, by preparing the way for a war feast.

Religion.

"Whither goes the spirit of the dead? The Osage cannot tell you. No land of promise, no heaven of pure delight, rises before the dim vision of an Indian. All that he sees is a dark and narrow land, a land of shadows and of ghosts. He sees something beyond the grave, but he sees it not distinctly. He knows not what sort of life it is. He rather conjectures it is something like the present. So he sets a dish of food beside the deceased, and gives back his hunting or war implements. And if it be some brave man, they say, 'Let him have his favorite horse, or he will be restless in his grave'. So they shoot down his horse by the grave-side.

"They have no idea of one great invisible Spirit. Tell them of such a being, and they will triumphantly inquire, 'Who is he? Where is he? I want to see him. Show him to me, and I will believe. Is he like my shadow? Is he like my breath? Is he like the wind? What is he like?' Ask them how many gods they worship, and they will never put up less than four fingers and say, 'Meh woh-junda, the sun is God; Me-um-pah Wohejun-dah, the moon is god; Moineh Kan Kun da, the earth is god.' Others will name five, and others six, and even seven or eight.

Morning Prayers.

"These commence before the break of day. They rise and cover their faces with earth. Then go forth into the field round about the villages and sitting down on the ground, offer their prayers. And you may hear hundreds at the same time, all praying aloud in different directions. And the god to whom they pray is some imaginary god, like the sun, moon, etc. I have sometimes seen them praying standing. Once I saw the old chief stand and pray, first to the east, then to the west, then to the north and then to the south, as though god was in one direction or the other. Their prayers are always excited by some loss, as of a friend or favorite animal; or by some trouble, as sickness, hunger, want; and the earnestness of their prayers shows that they are sensible of trouble as well as other men. Sometimes in their trouble they determine to fast until the sun goes down; at other times the vow is for part of the day. If you invite them to eat, your invitation must be seconded by a bowl of water, or it will be of no use. They have a custom in smoking, which is quite significant. The first whif they offer to their god, with a prayer which may be literally translated thus: 'Tobacco, tobacco, I smoke thee, god; give me a good path, make me a good warrior!'"

As Reverend Pixley Saw Them.

Reverend Benton Pixley was one of the original missionaries at Harmony Mission in Missouri. In 1824, he established the Neosho

Mission in Kansas. He tells of the conditions confronting him, in a letter dated "Neosho, October 24, 1827," written to the American Board, thus: (2)

"We found the natives in appearance to have nothing of that ferocity so often described as inherent in the features and manifested in the manners of the red men of the forest. They seemed to be bold, and pleasant, frank and hospitable. A stranger just passing through their towns with but a superficial acquaintance would have a most favorable opinion of their character, and would scarce conceive the moral turpitude and degredation in which they were involved. He would think that if the only means of improvement and civilization were put in their hands nothing would be wanting to make them equal their more highly privileged white brethren.

Their Actual State.

"But alas, how mistaken have been the opinions of many with respect to the virtue and happiness of the children of nature. Possessing a country scarcely surpassed by any in facility of cultivation, and capable of producing almost every delicate and nourishing fruit and vegetable, these children of nature are nevertheless often reduced to the last extremity for the want of food, and are found to subsist for weeks together on acorns and on roots dug out of the prairie; and for no other reason than their idleness and improvidence.

"Vice reigns everywhere. The shameless effrontery with which they pollute their common discourse is not to be known except to a man who understands their language, for no interpreter feels himself at liberty to communicate fully the ideas they express. So entirely are they addicted to lying that no confidence can be placed in what they say, neither do they pretend to place confidence in each other. And their intercourse formerly with white people has been such as to give them too much reason to suppose that other men in this respect are not very different from themselves. So common is their thieving, not from white people and their enemies only, but from one another, that there is not the least encouragement to labor and acquire property, since he who plants does it under the expectation that depredations will be practiced upon him, with the addition of being laughed at and called a man of no spirit if he complains.

Averse to Labor.

"As respects the kind of labor they perform I might say, speaking generally, that they perform none. They are lamentably destitute of ingenuity and aptitude in contriving and making things for their use and comfort. Such a thing as a basket I never saw among them. Their dress, excepting such as is used in their dances, exhibits deplorable negligence and laziness. Their game has been so abundant that they have felt little need of agricultural labor and have consequently established a habit of considering it dishonest for a man to do much besides hunting and going to war. Other employments bring upon him an insupportable derision. Indeed it is hardly possible to make you understand with what an iron-handed despotism the airy phantom, Ridicule, holds this people in subjection and drives them miserably along to perdition. I offered large wages to a young Osage, Millendoler, who has attended school at Harmony, to induce him to remain with me during the present winter, and assist me in acquiring his language, he, at the same time, learning the English. This, he said he would be glad to do, but remarked, 'The Osages call me a fool.' Although he understands much of our language he can hardly be persuaded to speak a word of it in the presence of the Indians.

Religion.

"When I tell them I came to teach them the word of God, they sometimes sneeringly ask, 'Where is God? Have you seen him?' And then laugh that I should think of making them believe a thing so incredible, as a being who sees and takes knowledge of them while they cannot see him. They indeed call the earth, the sun and moon, thunder and lightning, god; but their conceptions on this subject are altogether indefinite and confused. Some old men who are more given to seriousness and reflection, frankly declare that they know nothing about God, what he is or where he is, or what he would do for them.

"They speak of him as being hateful, instead of being amiable and good. They often say they hate him; he is of bad temper; that they would shoot him if they could see him. (God)

"Of a future state of rewards and punishments, they have no conception. But some have a confused idea of a future state of existence. But these ideas are only what might be called the traditions and superstitions of the common people, and are regarded as foolishness by others.

"Yet of all creatures, they seem to be most subject to supernatural fears and alarms. This, of itself, puts a great check upon their nightly depredations, which would otherwise be intolerable. Darkness presents so many terrors to their afrightened imaginations, especially around their towns where their dead are buried, that few have courage to abroad at night beyond the light of their own dwellings.

W. C. Requa's Statement.

In a letter to a friend in New York, February 3, 1822, W. C. Requa corroborates the views of his fellow missionaries, and makes some additional comments: (3)

"The moral darkness in which this people are involved, is greater than has yet been communicated to the Christian world. It has been commonly reported that they worship God, and acknowledge him as the first great cause of all things. This, however, I believe to be founded on misrepresentation. From the best information I can obtain, it appears that they are an idolatrous race, and they worship the sun, the earth, the moon and the stars. They worship these creatures of God as creators. If asked who made the sun, moon, earth, etc., they cannot tell. Hence it is evident that they have no knowledge of Him who made the heavens and the earth, and all things that are therein.

"The Osages will rise in the morning before day dawns, black their faces with earth, look toward the rising sun, and with an affected air, pray sometimes until the sun has risen. But their gods are not able to change their hearts, or put the right spirits within them. It is no uncommon thing to see them start, immediately after their morning devotion, on some mischievous and atrocious expedition; perhaps to murder some of a neighboring tribe, or steal their substance. Many of them are playing cards around me while I'm writing, and are uttering in broken English, oaths which are so commonly uttered at card tables. Both the profanity and the card playing they have doubtless learned from traders who pass much of their time in the village.

"You will probably say I have given only the dark side. It is true; but I have

3. Wm. C. Requa to his friend in New York, February 3, 1822, in Missionary Register, July 1822, p. 13.

not presented the whole of that. I would now mention some things that are laudable and worthy of the imitation of all men. First—they are kind to each other. If at any time some have been more prosperous in hunting than others, their doors are opened, and the destitute are invited to enter and partake. They also frequently send provisions to the lodges of the wretched, the widows and the fatherless. Secondly—they are very hospitable and kind to strangers who are not their enemies. They are especially hospitable to white people. The moment a white man enters their village, he is invited from one cabin to another to partake of their simple fare. One of their principal chiefs told me that whenever I came to his village, his house was my home; and added that when he came to see me, he should make my house his home."

Early Missionary Contacts.

There were resident missionaries among neighboring tribes for more than a century before the Presbyterians established the Union Mission in 1821, on Grand river, which was the first among the Osages. However, the Osages had had many contacts with missionaries before this date, some of which were made when they visited other tribes, or at white settlements along the Mississippi and lower Missouri rivers; others were the transient French or Spanish priests who were accompanying exploring or other expeditions into the Osage country, and possibly a few itinerants. The distance of the Osages from the first main arteries of travel was accountable for this.

If Houck and Phillips are correct in their contentions that the Osages came into contact with DeSoto and Coronado, they would have met the Spanish missionaries with those explorers. DeSoto stopped for a time among the Kwapa, (1) cousins of the Osages, and the accompanying missionaries mingled with the Indians. Two of Coronado's missionaries remained among the Indians, but information as to just where they worked or died, is indefinite. (2)

Between 1688 and 1694, French-Canadian traders roamed over the territory of the Osages, and no doubt became well acquainted with them. (3) Whether missionaries accompanied any of these is not stated in any available records. These were followed by explorers at the head of small military detachments, all of which had chaplains. Du Tisnet spent days with the Osages on the Osage river in 1719. (4) In 1720, Renault was sent out from Ft. Chartres with 500 men (slaves purchased at San Domingo) to explore the country. They opened the lead mines in what is now Washington County, Missouri, and established trading relations with the Osages as well as the Kwapas. (5) Bourg-

1. Houck's History of Missouri, v. 1, p. 107.
2. Coronado and Quivira by Paul Jones, chap. X, p. 223; Lyons Pub. Co., Lycns, Kansas, 1937.
3. Bolton and Marshall, Colonization in North America, p. 100.
4. History of Vernon County, Missouri, p. 94; Houck, v. 1, p. 230, gives this date as 1720.
5. History of Vernon County, Missouri, p. 96.

mont, during his expedition into Missouri in 1724, held a council with the Missouris and Osages, and when he returned to France in 1727, he was accompanied by some Missouris and Osages. (6)

The Osages were great travelers, and they came into contact with missionaries in this manner even before the above events occurred. Rev. Father Jacques Gravier, in a letter in the form of a Journal of the Mission of l'Immaculee Conception de Notre Dame, in the Illinois country, February 15, 1694, wrote this: (7)

"About the 20th of June, the French and the savages who had left here during the previous month to seek alliance of the Osages and Missouris, in the expectation of the great profits that they would derive from the trade with the latter, came back with two chiefs from each village, accompanied by some elders and some women. Although these Merchants, in all the dealings of any extent that they have with the savages, care very little about telling them of God and of the Missionary, the visitors all came, nevertheless, to see me, and I welcomed them as heartily as I could. I took them to the chapel, and talked to them as if they understood me well; they were present at mass, and behaved with great modesty, following the example of the Illinois—whom they heard me instruct on several occasions, and cause to offer prayers to God. They manifested great joy when I led them to hope that I would go to see them, to give them sense—such is the expression that they use. But, alas, I am alone, I cannot assist or visit the other villages of the Illinois, which are on the banks of the Mississippi river. The Osages and the Missouris do not appear to be as quick witted as the Illinois; their language does not seem very difficult."

Houck tells more of the work of the Illinois missionaries when he says: (8)

"The missionaries at Tamarouha, Cahokia and Kaskaskia, dwelling with the Indians there, also visited the west bank of the Mississippi because these Indians crossed and recrossed the river on their hunting expeditions, and the Jesuit missionaries were in the habit of accompanying them on such occasions."

Sieur Bourgmont, a French soldier-commander, mentioned above, came to Missouri in November 1723, in the interest of the French government and erected a fort on the north side of the river in what is now Carroll county. Of this event Rothensteiner writes: (9)

"The chaplain of the expedition was Father John Baptist Mercier, the pastor at Cahokia. There was a room at the fort dedicated to divine service, the earliest house of worship erected in the valley of the Missouri. 'Te Deum chanted by Mercier at the fort, November 5, 1724, on Bergmond's return from his adventurous march across the Kansas plains,' says Father Garraghan, 'was a unique religious ceremony in the west.'

"Together with the commandant, Father Mercier paid visits to the Missouri and Osage villages, where he apparently made an impression upon the Indians; for their chiefs whom Bourgmond brought to Paris in 1725, declared in their address to

6. Houck's History of Missouri, v. 1, p. 268.

7. Jesuit Relations, v. 64, p. 159.

8. Houck's History of Missouri, v. 2, p. 290.

9. History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, by Rothensteiner, v. 1, p. 57; St. Louis, 1928.

Louis XV, that they 'Never had anyone to teach them to pray, save only a 'white collar' who came to them a little time ago, whom they are happy to have, and (they) beseech you to send others. By order of the Company of the Indies, dated October 27, 1724, Fort Orleans was abandoned in 1728. 'A missionary, however, was to be left there if he thought he could make any progress in preaching the gospel among the Indians.' Father Mercier returned with the garrison and resumed his previous functions at Cahokie. Yet he did not lose interest in the 'prospect for missions which it is desirable should be established on the Missouri river.' "

Father Joseph is the name given to a priest who was said to have been a missionary among the Osages prior to 1811. The only information of him is given in the Missouri Historical Review, January 1928 (10) when it published a letter, the original copy of which was in possession of the relatives of the writer in St. Louis, which said:

"I am Firmin La Roche, sailor, living in St. Louis, and I was present at the earthquake which lately occurred above and below the mouth of the Ohio river along both shores of the Mississippi. There were with me Fr. Joseph, of the Mission to the Osages, returning to France; . . .

"Everywhere there was noise like thunder, and the ground was shaking the trees down, and the air was thick with something like smoke. There was much lightning. We believed we must surely die. Fr. Joseph gave absolution. We did not see either of the other boats; one of them we never saw again.

"Of those who were with me there is not but Fr. Joseph now in New Orleans, nor do I know where the others are gone."

The above refers to the earthquake of New Madrid in December 1811.

An account of a Spanish expedition being massacred by the Missouris in 1719, says: (11)

"Only one of the entire expedition escaped death. This one person was a priest who is said to have fled on a horse. After great privations he reached the friendly Osages, with whom he spent the remainder of his life, and did much to reclaim them from savagery. The traditional story is that he was known to the Osages as 'Whitebeard.' "

There are numerous cases of individual missionaries coming into contact with the Osages prior to 1820, but these will suffice to prove the point.

First Protestant Missionary.

The first missionary, if indeed he could have been called a missionary, to take up his abode among the Osages and continue to reside among them was William Sherley Williams, otherwise known as Old Bill Williams. He was at least the first Protestant, of whom there is an available record, to do missionary work among these natives. He was a native of North Carolina, born January 3, 1787. The family moved

10. Missouri Historical Review, January 1928, p. 268.

11. Ibid, April 1927, p. 509; Reprint from Econeille advertiser, June 3, 1898.

to a farm on the Missouri river not far from St. Charles, when William Sherley was a small boy. They were Baptists and attended meetings at the homes of the settlers, with the elder Williams often the preacher and leader. There were no Protestant churches on the west side of the river at that time, and like most pioneer countries there were very few schools.

The Williams home was near the old trail along which the fur traders from the west traveled to St. Louis to dispose of their packs, and the Williams family became acquainted with many of the men who traveled that way. A government factory or trading post was also located a short distance west, and the Williams family often went there to trade. The Osages, as well as other Indians, continued to visit the factory and to travel the trail to St. Louis, visiting at the Williams cabin on the way. William Sherley grew up under these surroundings, absorbing something of the religious spirit of the family, and at the same time becoming imbued with the spirit of the west and the free and open life.

Bill Williams had scarcely attained manhood before he became an itinerant preacher, visiting all the near-by settlements and preaching to all who would listen. In those days it was not necessary for a man to have a license from a religious organization, be ordained, or to have any particular training or education. If he was a good exhorter and could attract the people to hear him, he could proceed to preach, and have no one to hinder. He had no organized church and received as compensation only what the settlers gave him, if any. After five years as a circuit rider, he moved across what is now the state of Missouri and took up his abode with the Osages.

Just how Williams worked among the Osages is not known. No mention is made anywhere of a school or church under his charge. It is probable that he preached whenever and wherever it was convenient, and in any way that he thought might be effective. However, it is stated that he found it very difficult to substitute in the minds of the Osages an invisible God for the visible sun, moon, thunder, etc., which were self-evident and in which they had long recognized their deity. Believing he could make better headway, he proposed a trade to the Osages: that he would become a member of their tribe and be an Indian if they would adopt his religion. This was agreed upon, but apparently was a failure, at least as far as the Indians were concerned. They made few changes. However, Williams proceeded to carry out his part of the deal, married an Osage woman and took up the life of an Indian. It is even hinted that he even gave up his religion and took up that of the Osages. At any rate, Williams quit preaching and took up his rifle and participated in the wild life of the tribe. He became an interpreter for the government at the factory established on the

Marais des Cygnes River near Papinsville. It was here that the missionaries at Harmony met him in 1821, and from whom they received much valuable aid in acquiring the Osage language.

Just when Williams went among the Osages, and just when he quit preaching are not known, but it must have been right soon after the Louisiana Purchase. There is a record that he carried dispatches from Major Sibley to St. Louis in November 1813. In the spring of 1817 he became a regular government interpreter at \$40 per month salary. Here he helped the missionaries compose the "First Osage Book," for use in their missionary work. He interpreted some of the sermons the missionaries preached to the Osages, and sent his daughters to the mission school.

Williams was the government interpreter at Ft. Smith when a treaty was made to bring peace between the Cherokees and Osages in 1821. He was also an interpreter at the treaty of Council Grove in 1825, by which the Osages conceded the right-of-way for the Santa Fe trail; also at a treaty with the Kansas Indians the same year for the same purpose. After these treaties, Williams went on west to Taos and began his life as a hunter and trapper which gained for him the title of Mountain Man.

Practically all the information about Williams and his work, as given here, was obtained from "Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man," by Alpheus H. Favour, published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1936. The same book recites a story worth repeating here, as revealing something of the Osage mind of the period:

"On a number of occasions Williams acted as interpreter for the missionaries in the religious services intended for the benefit of the Indians. Once he was asked and consented to translate a sermon to the red men. When the Indians had assembled, Williams asked the missionary what text he had selected from which to preach. The minister told him it was from the book of Jonah. Drawing from his years of experience with Indians, Williams advised the good man against telling these Indians the story of Jonah and the whale, for they would never believe the fish story. The minister insisted on the talk as he had planned. Williams consented with misgivings. The story was told and translated; then an old chief arose and with solemn declaration said, 'We have heard several of the white people talk and lie; we know they will lie; but this is the biggest lie we ever heard.' Then wrapping his blanket about him, he stalked toward his tepee. The rest of the Indians forthwith, without further word, followed the chief, leaving the preacher and Williams alone."

It is known that after the Marais des Cygnes factory closed in 1822, Williams and Paul Ballio moved over on the Neosho river and started a trading post of their own, but credit wrecked business then as now, and he had to give it up. The definite location of that post is not given. It was probably here that John Mathews, who had a post near

the present Oswego, Kansas, met and married Mary Williams, daughter of William Sherley Williams, and who, after the death of Mary, also married her sister Sarah. Some of their children later attended the Osage Manual Labor School conducted by Father Schoenmakers, at Osage Mission, and some of the descendants are now quite prominent in the Osage Nation, in Oklahoma.

PART II.

Union Mission.

Antecedents of the Osage Missions.

About the beginning of the 19th century, a wave of religious fervor and enthusiasm swept over the church people of New England and the north Atlantic states, and for several years that fervor continued to develop, to an unusual degree, activities for the prosecution of missionary work, both foreign and domestic. In fact, during the first third of that century, more Protestant missionaries developed there than in all other sections of the country combined.

The New England people had very largely claimed the Dutch low lands and the English speaking countries of Europe as their ancestral home. Therefore there were fewer religious sects there than elsewhere, and religion had made steady progress. In fact religion took first place in the minds of the New England people, and greatly influenced their activities in social and business life. Their religion was mostly Puritanical in origin, of the extreme English type, and Calvanistic in theology. It might be said that it came from the extremists of the English reformation. The fewness of sect antagonisms in New England enabled religion to make unusual progress regardless of the severity of some of the church discipline. Because of their own success, they not only felt that they were fit, but that it was their duty to answer the call of the Master to "Go teach all nations," by giving missionary assistance to the less favored sections. Men of means appeared willing to contribute liberal funds for vigorous missionary campaigns, and volunteers to labor in the missionary field were more numerous than could be provided for.

At first some small state or local missionary societies were organized, but in 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized, and in 1812, it was incorporated with general offices in Boston. This was largely a merger of smaller societies. The second war with England interfered for a time, but the fervor did not abate, and preliminary work was carried on. The heathen American Indians appeared to be the most needy and inviting subjects, and the chosen field for the establishment of the early missions was among the Cherokees and other tribes of the south and southwest.

In 1817, the United Foreign Missionary Society was formed in New York for the same purpose. This organization established the missions among the Osages described in this book, and conducted them until 1826, when it was merged with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. These societies were controlled by the leaders of

the Presbyterian, Congregational and Dutch Reformed Churches acting in unison. Most of the Missionaries sent to the Osages appear to have been of Congregational affiliations, but their missions have commonly been known as Presbyterian, and the churches they instituted took the Presbyterian form of organization.

About this time, the United States government became more fully convinced that religion was the best and most practical means available for civilizing the wild Indians, and of bringing order and peace among the tribes; and a policy of financial aid and moral cooperation with the missionary societies was announced. This did much to accelerate the missionary movement.

The United Foreign Missionary Society at first was much inclined to establish its first western missions among the Cherokees of the Arkansas. The Revs. E. Chapman and J. P. Vinall were sent west in 1819 on a tour of inspection. Rev. Vinall died on the trip, but the Rev. Chapman reported that missions were already established among the Cherokees in Arkansas, by the American Board, that there were no missions among the Osages who resided just west of the Cherokees, and that he believed the Osages offered the better opportunity for missionary labors. His conclusions were approved by the U.F.M.S., and preparations began at once to carry them into effect.

Tour of Investigation.

Before establishing a mission among the Osages, the United Foreign Missionary Society judiciously decided to send two representatives to the western country to investigate conditions, the advisability of sending a missionary family there, and to select a suitable location for the proposed mission. The story of the trip of these two representatives is well told in Pelham Letter No. 1, as follows: (1)

"In May, 1819, the United Foreign Missionary Society appointed two agents, Rev. Epaphras Chapman and Rev. Job P. Vinall, to visit the Missouri Territory and ascertain the condition of the Indian tribes in that quarter, and to select suitable places for missionary stations. These gentlemen left New York in the same month, and went directly to the city of Washington where they were furnished with letters of recommendation from the secretaries of state and war, to all the officers of government wherever it was probable they might travel. Col. McKenney, superintendent of Indian trade, also gave them letters to all the agents among the Indians, urging them to cooperate in their plans for benefitting the Indians. These letters were of the utmost importance to the travelers.

1. Letters of the Chickasaw and Osage Missions; revised by the Publishing Committee, Boston, Mass., Sabbath School Society; 2d ed., 1883; Missionary Series, Vol IX, Osage Missions. Sarah Tuttle is said to be the author, but all of the letters are signed "Cornelia," and are so written that author's name might be taken for Cornelia Pelham. They are sometimes referred to as the Pelham Letters. Copy in K.S.H.S., Topeka.

"They reached the Arkansas in safety on the thirteenth of July. Immediately upon their arrival, they visited the king, who expressed much satisfaction from the visit. The day was appointed for the council to convene, but before it arrived, both the missionaries were brought very low with bilious fevers, therefore the whole concern was entrusted to Major Lewis, who conducted it in a judicious manner, and received from them the cordial approbation of king and his chiefs, sixteen of whom signed.

"When Mr. Chapman and Mr. Vinall had so far recovered as to be able to attend to business, Major Lewis accompanied them to the garrison at the junction of the rivers Poteau and Arkansas, to attend an Indian council of Cherokees and Osages. They laid the object of their mission before the chiefs, who expressed their unqualified approbation, and returned a speech in which their satisfaction was expressed in strong terms, signed by nine of the principal chiefs.

"The missionaries continued very feeble, particularly Mr. Vinall. Mr. Vinall came to the determination to descend the Mississippi and return to New York by the way of New Orleans, but he died in a few weeks at Fort Smith.

"Soon after Mr. Vinall's departure, Mr. Chapman, accompanied by Captain Pryor, a white man, went to the Osage country with the chiefs, their women and children, on their return from the council, who treated them with great kindness, well pleased with the thought that they should soon have a mission established in their nation. During this journey, Mr. Chapman selected the spot for a station which was afterwards called Union.

"Having accomplished the object of his journey, Mr. Chapman set out for the Missouri with Mr. Sloper, a good hunter and woodsman. They reached St. Louis the latter part of October, and after resting a short time, continued on his way to New York.

Osage Mission A Compromise.

The establishment of Union Mission on Grand River in what is now Oklahoma, the first organized missionary endeavor among the Osages, was more of a compromise than a premeditated affair. The two commissioners, The Rev. Chapman and Vinall, sent by the United Foreign Missionary Society, of New York to select a location for a missionary station among the western Indians, first visited the Cherokees on the Arkansas river, to whom they submitted their proposition, and from whom they received this reply, signed by sixteen chiefs: (2)

"We, the undersigned chiefs of the Cherokee nation, on the Arkansas, in behalf of ourselves and our nation, in general council assembled, this 3rd day of August 1819, having been applied to by our brothers, Epaphras Chapman and Job Vinall, missionaries, acting under the instructions of the United Foreign Missionary Society, of New York, for the purpose of establishing schools within our nation for the education of our children, and for the introduction of mechanics, for the use and benefit of our nation, and of the school; do hereby, with our entire approbation, consent to their wishes, provided they establish themselves within a few miles of our eastern boundary line. We are desirous of having as many, and such kind of mechanics, as may be most for the benefit of our nation, especially wheel-wrights."

The two commissioners attended a council of the Cherokees and Osages at the junction of the Poteau and Arkansas rivers, where they

submitted a similar proposition to the Osage chiefs, and later received this reply, dated Ft. Smith, September 27, 1819: (3)

"All of you fathers,—I shake hands with you, and the Great Spirit is witness that it is with a good heart. In shaking hands with you, I embrace all my white brethren."

Having after this introduction, expressed their thanks to their great father in Washington for sending his white children to instruct them, signified their desires that their young men might be initiated in the mechanic arts, their young women in domestic economy, and that all the young people might be taught to read and write, they concluded with saying:

"I shall consider the house which our great father will build for the education of our children our home, as we do this place. I wish our great father would send us the teachers as soon as he can, with their necessary equipments. I shook hands with our great father at Washington and still hold it fast. We must all have one tongue."

Before leaving the country, the commissioners selected, tentatively, the location where the station was later established.

Mr. Chapman, on his return to New York, reported the results of his trip and his views on the subject. The minutes of the Board shows this official action on his report: (4)

"The Board of Managers having been informed that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had made a covenant with the Cherokees previous to the arrival of our agents on the Arkansas, and had promised to form amongst them a missionary establishment; it was resolved, that to avoid all collision, and to maintain that good understanding which ought to exist between the two sister institutions, this Board will relinquish to their American Board, the contemplated station among the Cherokees, on the condition of their fulfilling the engagement entered into by our agents. The American Board having signified their compliance with this condition—it was resolved to proceed forthwith to form a Missionary establishment among the Osages."

After corresponding with the Secretary of War, the Board adopted a new and more extensive plan of operation among the Indians, of which the report gives this outline: (5)

"The Board, in their general principles, have declared it to be their object to promote amongst the Indians not only the knowledge of Christianity, but also the arts of civilized life. Besides the branches taught in common schools, the boys will be instructed in agriculture and the mechanic arts, and the girls in spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, and household business. They have also resolved that in every establishment there shall be a superintendent, and an assistant superintendent who shall be ministers of the gospel. A schoolmaster, a farmer, a blacksmith, a carpenter, and such other mechanics as shall be found necessary, all of whom shall come under the general denomination of missionaries. This number may be increased as occasion shall require, and at every station there shall be a physician, by profession, or a person acquainted with the practice of physic.

"They determined also, that in no case should any be taken into their service who should not have a character well established for discretion and piety, and

3. Same, p. 18.

4. Same, p. 19.

5. Same, p. 19.

that the whole mission family should be governed by the same rules, and excepting in the case of sickness, should eat at the same table."

Mission Family Organized.

From among the many applicants for membership in the Mission Family to go to the new mission among the Osages on the Grand river the Board selected the following: (6)

Rev. William F. Vaill, of North Guilford, Conn.

Rev. Epaphras Chapman, of East Haddam, Conn.

Dr. Marcus Palmer, physician, of Greenwich, Conn.

Stephan Fuller, farmer, of East Haddam, Conn.

Abraham Redfield, carpenter, of Orange County, N. Y.

John Milton Spalding, farmer and stonemason, of Colchester, Conn.

William C. Requa, farmer and teacher, of Tarrytown, N. Y.

Alex Woodruff, blacksmith, of Newark, N. J.

George Requa, farmer and mechanic, of Tarrytown, N. Y.

Mrs. Asenath Vaill, wife of the Rev. Mr. Vaill.

Mrs. Hannah E. M. Chapman, wife of Rev. Mr. Chapman.

Miss Susan Lines, of Reading, Conn.

Miss Eliza Cleaver, of Litchfield, Conn.

Miss Clarisa Johnson, of Colchester, Conn.

Miss Mary Foster, of New York.

Dolly E. Hoyt, of Danbury, Conn.

Phoebe Beach, of Newburg, N. Y.

The report of the Board continues:

"These persons, having presented to the Committee of Missions the most satisfactory testimonials of their good standing, as members in full communion of the Church and of their qualifications to fill the respective stations to be assigned to them, and the committee having particularly conversed with them on their views in desiring to go to this mission, did unanimously agree to recommend them to the Board of Managers, which was accordingly done, and they were severally appointed members of the Mission family.

"To the above, as constituting a part of that family, we must add four children of Mr. Vaill's, vis: Richard S., Sarah, Elizabeth, and Thomas Scott, who are from three to ten years of age.

The Rev. Mr. Vaill was appointed superintendent; and the Rev. Epaphras Chapman assistant superintendent of the Mission. (This arrangement was adopted in obedience to the urgent request of Mr. Chapman, who, in consequence of his having explored the Osage Country and also collected the Mission Family, would otherwise have been appointed.)

"When it was known that this interesting family would collect in New York, on or about the 17th, and take their departure immediately after the 18th of April, measures were not only taken to receive them, but also to provide all such articles as might be useful to them on their journey; and especially when they shall have reached the place of their destination.

*
6. Same, p. 20.

"The zeal manifested by our Christian friends in this city, and vicinity was worthy of imitation. Goods were collected of almost every description, the probable value of which was, on a moderate computation, between seven and eight thousand dollars; and cash, by collection in the churches, and private donations, amounting to about two thousand five hundred dollars.

"On Thursday morning a meeting was held of the Managers, the Missionaries, and their friends, in the Consistory Room of the Dutch Reformed Church, in Garden street. There the Commission and instructions for Missionaries, together with a talk to the Indians, were signed; and after prayer, formally delivered by Robert Lenox, the presiding vice-president, to the superintendent of the Mission, the whole assembly proceeded to the Olive Branch steam-boat, at the Battery."

General Instructions.

Given to the Mission Family by the United Foreign Missionary Society, on its departure from New York for the Union Mission, on Grand River: (7)

"Dear Brethren: The Board think it proper, before they part with you, to disclose to you an outline of their views and expectations, leaving many things to your own prudence and piety. You will proceed with all convenient dispatch to the Grand River by the way of Ohio. When you arrive, your first care will be to erect a temporary building, or buildings, to shelter you and your effects from the weather. This done, you will set immediately about putting up those permanent buildings which may be necessary. The Board are particularly anxious that you should employ a sufficient number of mechanics and other laborers, to erect the buildings with all possible dispatch that you may not be exposed to inclemency of winter unprotected. This point they cannot press with too much earnestness, as being of vital importance to your safety, and the prosperous commencement of the Mission.

"As soon as the buildings are prepared, you will open a school for the Indian youth and children, taking them at first into your own family, feeding and clothing them, training them up to habits of industry, and teaching them husbandry and the most suitable mechanical arts. All your instructions are to be communicated to them in the English language, which they are to be taught to speak, and read and write.

"One of your number at least will set down, as early as possible, to learn the Osage language, that he may be able to preach to the elder Indians.

It will be important for the Board to have before them the whole expense of the family and the school into systematic order, and to have a fixed time for everything. In arranging this part of your plan, you will derive all you can from the experience of others, which you will study with particular care.

"Whatever station you nominally occupy in the Mission, it will be expected of you all to be ready to turn your hand to every thing. The Board would deprecate the idea, especially in the commencement of the Mission, of having anyone take up the impression, that because he was sent out to teach, he was not sent out to work.

"You will always bear in mind, that the property committed to your care is a sacred deposit, and will feel the pressing obligation to practice the most rigid economy—carefully guarding against all unnecessary waste, distinguishing

what articles are necessary, purchasing them in due season, giving the preference to those which are the lest perishing, making a proper selection of workmen, and neither employing too many nor too few.

"It will be important for the Board to have before them the whole expense of the establishment from time to time, and to be able to estimate, and to inform the public, how much you, yourselves, have contributed to the support of the Mission. To accomplish these ends, you will keep and transmit to the board, an accurate account of all receipts and expenditures from whatever quarter monies or goods are received, and in whatever thing the expenditure is made. You will carefully record the expense of your buildings, and all your improvements upon the lands, and all the avails of your labor.

"In hiring labourers, you will make it an unchanging principle to employ none but such as are sober, moral, and peaceable; who will strictly observe the Sabbath while at the station, and attend public and family worship. No profane language is to be tolerated among those whom you employ. No ardent spirits are to be given to the workmen or to the Indians.

"Your happiness and usefulness will essentially depend on the preservation of harmony among yourselves. In order to this, you must practice largely the duty of self-denial, relinquishing your individual opinions and wishes when opposed to the will of the majority. In all your conduct you must exercise the most exemplary disinterestedness. Let no man seek his own, but every man the things of others. Let no love of pre-eminence appear among you, but in honour prefer one another. Maintain a kind and courteous deportment towards each other, and be a family of brothers and sisters indeed.

"On the subject of civilization and the arts, you will be careful to coincide with the views of the national government, and to report to them as often, and as extensively as their regulations may require. Any suggestions from their agents must be attentively and respectfully regarded.

"It must be no small part of your endeavor to obtain the confidence and to conciliate the affections of the Indians. In accomplishing this, you will explore the grounds of those prejudices which they indulge against white men, and endeavour by every prudent mean to prevent them in relation to yourselves, and the Society which employs you; make it appear that your object is not to obtain wealth or honour among them, but to do them good, both by raising them in the scale of society, and in preparing them for the happiness of a better state.

"In attempting to conciliate the Indians, we deem it important to state, that you are by no means to feel yourselves authorized to make them presents, although this is not intended to exclude such premiums among the children and youth as the circumstances may require.

"Ever keep in view the great objects of your mission, which are to evangelize the Indians; and to teach them the arts of civilized life. In respect to the latter, it will not be enough to give them the knowledge of agriculture and of the mechanic arts; you must labour effectually to wean them from the hunter's life, and to bring them into habits of patient industry, and a regular pursuit of the various occupations of civilized man. They must acquire through your instructions the knowledge of property, and the desire of that ease and independence which is the effect of industry and economy—unless these motives can be brought powerfully and steadily to operate, you will not be able to overcome that natural indolence common to men in an uncivilized state. This radical change in the views and habits will undoubtedly be the work of time, and of great difficulty. Yet its accomplishment you must regard as vital to your ultimate success; the Gospel

cannot live among a people who are not thus reduced to order, except it be, by foreign and expensive means.

"In communicating your instructions on the subject of religion, we need not say, you must begin with first principles, and carefully avoid all useless controversies; make great use of catechisms; particularly of those which lead to the development of the principal historical facts, and the cardinal doctrines of the Bible.

"But while you are unwearied in your endeavours to impart the great truths of the gospel, forget not the necessity of divine influence, but daily and hourly implore the aids of the Spirit—expect to accomplish nothing without this agency—In your private instructions and conversations with the pupils deal much with the conscience and the heart. Convince them of the deep interest you take in their personal welfare, both temporal and eternal—and never think, that the object of your mission is accomplished, till you see them brought into the fold of the son of God, and walking in the faith and order of the Gospel.

"These instructions will be followed by others, as the subject shall open to the Board, and the exigency of the mission may require.

"Signed by order of the Board of Managers.

Robert Lenox, Vice-President.
P. Milledoler, Foreign Sec.
Z. Lewis, Domestic Sec.

Talks to the Indians.

New York, April 8, 1820. (8)

To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Osage nation, from the U. F. M. Society.

Brothers, About three years ago, we took into consideration the condition of our red brethren, whom we wish to instruct in the knowledge of God, the good Spirit, and for that purpose we formed a Society in New York, called United Foreign Missionary Society.

Brothers, The Great Spirit has condescended to give us the beloved speech in the book called the Bible. This teaches us the way of peace and life, and that all who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and obey the commandments, shall be happy in this world, happy in death, and happy in the world to come after death.

Brothers, We wish for your happiness as well as for our own. We wish to tell you all we know of what the good and great Spirit has done for the salvation of men. Accordingly, we sent to you last year our beloved brother Epaphras Chapman, to inquire whether you would permit us to send Teachers among you. We rejoiced on his return to hear that you were willing to receive persons that we might send to you; that you pointed out a place on your lands where they and their families may reside; and that our Brother Chapman engaged that he would send you people who would endeavor to do you good.

Brothers, We approve of all our Brother Chapman engaged to do. Our Great Father, the President at Washington, approves of what he did, and in fulfilling his engagements, we now send you our beloved Brothers and Sisters.

Brothers, The business of our brothers, Wm. F. Vaill and Epaphras Chapman will be to explain to you, your wives and children, the Bible, the best of all works—

8. Same, pp. 24-25.

a book which contains a revelation of the will of God to man, which brings the glad tidings of Salvation by Christ, and which sheds light on the future and everlasting state of all men.

Brothers, Our brethren Alexander Woodruff, Stephen Fuller, Abraham Redfield, and George Requa, will teach you to build houses, like the houses of white men, in which you and your families may be sheltered from storms; to make ploughs, axes, wagons, and all the implements by which you may cultivate your lands and raise your own provisions. Our brothers, John M. Spaulding, and Wm. C. Requa, will teach your children how to read and write, and how to do your business, so that bad men may not cheat and impose upon you. Our brother, Marcus Palmer, will, if any of you, or your wives and children are sick, give them medicines, which, under the blessing of the Good Spirit, will contribute to your health. Our sisters, Aseneth Vaill, Hannah E. M. Chapman, Clarissa Johnson, Susan Lines, Mary Foster, Dolly E. Hoyt, and Eliza Cleaver, will teach your wives and daughters how to knit stockings, and make clothes for your children; and all our brothers and sisters will do all in their power to make you good and happy.

Brothers, From our hearts we wish you well. We are your friends. We hope you believe us to be so. We expect to gain nothing in this world for all we desire to do for you. We do not want your lands. We "seek not yours, but you." We look for our reward to God, the Good Spirit in Heaven. We have no presents to make you, of money or of guns; we send you better presents, our brothers and sisters, to instruct you in the will of the Great Spirit; in all that will make you comfortable in this world, and happy in the world to come.

Brothers, We show our great love for you, and our confidence in you, by sending our dear brothers and sisters, and their families to live among you. We now hereby introduce them to you. Confide in them—love them—protect them. Tell them all your difficulties. Listen to their counsels. Concur with them in all they may attempt for your advancement in the knowledge of the will of God, the Good Spirit; and in the knowledge and practice of all the useful mechanical arts of your white brethren, and thus strengthen and brighten that claim of friendship which already binds us together.

Rev. Chapman's Visit to the Seat of Government. (9)

Mission Boats, May 29, 1820.

Dear Sir:—We have been so much occupied with the preparations for our departure from Pittsburgh, that I have not found time until our embarkation, for drawing up this communication. I left Philadelphia on the day in which the Mission Family took their departure from that city, and proceeded without delay to Washington. There I endeavored to pursue the business of the Society with unremitting diligence, until it was completed; and considering the great impediments which the close of the session of congress unavoidably presented, it was thought the business was attended to with uncommon despatch, and finished much sooner than might have reasonably been expected.

In the transaction of the business, I had one interview with the president and many with the secretary of war; in all of which the most decided approbation of the Society's plan for operation, and confidence in its measures were expressed; and a full determination was manifested, on the part of the government, to do everything in behalf of the mission which could with propriety be done.

9. Same, August 1820, pp. 49-50.

The following documents were kindly furnished by government:
(Letters)

It ought to be observed here that Col. McKenney's letters were written at a time when I had no opportunity to communicate with him, and when the documents furnished by the Society were in the hands of the secretary of war; of course he was not distinctly apprised of the rank Bro. Vaill holds as Superintendent of the Mission.

Thus, if I mistake not, every point contemplated in my mission to the city of Washington has received attention, and the result which is here presented, will it is hoped, prove satisfactory. I can only add that every effort was made for the successful accomplishment of the purposes of the Board.

We are all well and are rapidly advancing toward Union. The Lord has blessed us exceedingly in all things. I trust his favour which is life, and his loving kindness which is better than life, will still be with us. With great respect and Christian love, I am, sir, Yours,

Epaphras Chapman.

Talk to Indian Chiefs by Secretary of War: (10)

To the head men, chiefs, and warriors of the Osage Indians, on the Arkansas.

Brothers: The bearers hereof, Mr. Vaill and Mr. Chapman, with their party, have been sent out to you by your white brothers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, of New York, for the purpose of effecting a missionary establishment among you. Their views are friendly and benevolent, and have the approbation of your great father, the president of the United States, and he expects you will receive them kindly. Their object is to teach your children to read and write; your young women to spin, and weave, and make clothing for you, and prepare your food like white people; to show your young men how to make axes, hoes, and ploughs, and how to use them in tilling your land and raising crops for the support of yourselves and your families; and to introduce among you, generally, the arts of civilized life; the accomplishment of these benevolent intentions for the promotion of your welfare and happiness, will depend much upon your friendly dispositions, and the encouragement and support which they shall receive from you.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the war office of the United States, at the city of Washington, the third day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty. J. C. Calhoun, sec. war.

2 Circular to the government agents.

To superintendents of Indian affairs, and all other agents and officers in the service of the United States—greetings:

The bearers hereof, Messrs Vaill and Chapman, with their party, are engaged in effecting a missionary establishment among the Osage Indians on the Arkansas, under the authority and patronage of the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York, with the approbation of the president of the United States. I do hereby recommend them to the special favor and protection of all officers of government, wherever they may sojourn.

Given under my hand, etc.

J. C. Calhoun, sec. war.

10. These letters are from Niles Weekly Register, October 21, 1820; which in turn credits them to the A. M. R., v. 1, pp 50-53.

3. Letter to Gov. Clark, at St. Louis.

Department of war, May 3, 1820.

Sir: This will be handed to you by Mr. Chapman and Mr. Vaill, the former, agent for the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York, and the latter, superintendent of the mission family, which that society has sent out with the view of forming a missionary establishment among the Osage Indians on the Arkansas, for the benevolent purpose of educating their children, and introducing among them the arts of civilized life. The object of the society is approved by the president, and you will afford Mr. Chapman and Mr. Vaill, with their party, every assistance in your power in accomplishing it.

I beg the honor to be your obedient servant, J. C. Calhoun.

4. Letter like No. 3, to Gov. Miller, at Arkanasas.

5. Letter like No. 3, to Major Bradford, commanding U. S. troops at Ft. Smith, on the Arkansas.

6. Letter to Mr. Chapman.

Department of war, May 3, 1820.

Sir: The establishment which the United Foreign Missionary Society is about to make among the Osage Indians, appears to be conformable to the regulations, and to accord with the views of government; and it will receive, in money, assistance to the extent indicated in the regulations.

As there is no agent of government residing among the Osage Indians on the Arkansas, some difficulty might arise out of that part of the regulations which requires the certificate of the agent at the commencement and completion of the buildings. To obviate such difficulty, a portion of the expense of erecting the buildings will be advanced to you here, and the remainder will be paid when they are completed, upon the certificate of the superintendent of the establishment, if there should be no agent present.

The department has no means by which it could aid you in transporting your party and baggage; and, although the expenses will be great, no part of it can be defraved by the government, from the small sum appropriated for the civilization of the Indians. I feel every disposition to render you all the assistance in my power, and which a just regard to the applications from others will admit of; but that assistance must be in money on account of buildings and tuition, and may be applied by those having the management of the institution, in the manner they think the most advantageous.

I enclose a letter to governor Clark at St. Louis, governor Miller at Arkanasas, and Major Bradford, commanding the United States' troops at Fort Smith, on the Arkansas, and a general introductory letter, recommending Mr. Vaill and yourself, with your party, to the special favor and protection of all officers of government.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant, J. C. Calhoun.

II. From Col. McKenney, superintendent of Indian trade.

1. Talk to the Indian Chiefs

Brothers—I live a great distance from you towards the rising sun; yet I know you, and I am your friend. I wish you and your children to be happy. It is with the hope that great things are about to be done for you, and your children, that I send you this talk. I want to counsel and advise you.

Brothers—Many of your white brothers in the great city of New York have

heard of you; and they have sent to you and your people good men and good women to instruct you, and counsel you in those things which are important for you to know.

Brothers—I put this talk into the hands of Epaphras Chapman, one of the good men sent by your white brothers from the great city of New York, to instruct you and your children. He is your friend, listen to his talk, and mind the things he will teach you. All who go with him are your friends: I know who he is, and who they all are, for I have heard his talk concerning you and your children.

Brothers—These good men will teach you how to till the ground—how to make fields and gardens, where all things necessary for you to live upon will grow; they will teach you how to make these good things grow, and how to cook them as your white brothers cook them. The good women who go with Mr. Chapman will teach your little girls how to spin, and weave, and knit, and sew with the needle; and these good men and women will teach all your children, girls and boys, how to read, and write, and cypher, and how to pray and sing praises to the Great Spirit, and how we must all live and act, to secure his favor and protection.

Brothers—These good men and good women do not go amongst you to trade, to cheat, to defraud you, as many do, but they go because they are your friends, and want you and your children to be happy. Mind their words; hearken to their counsel; advise your children to love them, and to pay attention to their instructions.

Brothers—Your great father, the president, knows these good men and good women, who go with Mr. Chapman. He knows they are your friends; and he is glad that they have gone to teach his red children how to be happy.

Brothers—When you see your children well dressed, and well fed; and when you see them making their own clothes, and hear them reading the good books which tell about the Great Spirit, and which tells them how they must act to be happy in this world; and when you hear them sing praises to the Great Spirit; and when you see them love one another, and do one another all the good they can, will it not make your hearts glad? It is to do this that Mr. Chapman has gone to you, and carried with him the good men and women who will live with him in your country.

Brothers—Think what sacrifices these good men and good women have made. They have gone from towards the rising sun, and left behind them their parents, and brothers, and sisters, and friends. They have shaken hands with them all, to see them no more in this world; and all this because they are your friends, and want to do you good.

Brothers—How ought you to love these good men and good women!—you will love them. They expect you will be their friends. This is what they expect, and this is all they will ask of you. Learn of them the lessons they go to teach you and your children, and hold fast what you learn.

Brothers—I shake hands with you, and put my seal upon this talk; I pray the Great Spirit to make you and your children happy.

Tho. L. M'Kenney, Superintendent of Indian trade.

(L. S.)

2. Circular to Indian Agents.

Office of Indian trade, May 3, 1820.

To the Indian agents generally but especially to those who are employed in the United States' Indian trade with the Indians:

This letter is to certify, that the Rev. Epaphras Chapman, the bearer, is approved by the government, as an agent under the direction of the "United Foreign Mission Society of New York;" and that he, and his mission family who is in company with him, and of which he is a member, are on their way to the Osage tribe of Indians, to organize amongst them a missionary establishment for their improvement in civilization and Christianity. I know Mr. Chapman personally, and correspond with the society under whose directions he acts. I know also the views of the executive in relation to this undertaking, and therefore appeal confidently to the agents for the exercise of their co-operating aid in the furtherance of this benevolent work. I do this with the greater confidence, when I reflect that the agents are men of kind and benevolent feelings, and will delight in the promotion of whatever shall tend to the amelioration of human misery.

Tho. L. M'Kenney, Superintendent of Indian Trade.

3. Letter to governor Miller.

Office of Indian trade, Georgetown, May 3, 1820.

Sir—I avail myself of the agency of the Rev. E. Chapman, who is on his way to the Osage Indians, in company with a large missionary family, to present to you my remembrance, and to solicit for this mission your countenance and best feelings.

Mr. Chapman, and those in company with him, have been selected by the benevolent and highly respectable members of the "Foreign Missionary Society of New York," who are known to, and have the confidence of the government. For myself, I look for the best results, when I consider that the Indians among whom Mr. Chapman is going, are within your agency; and that your countenance and friendly counsels and interpositions, are always at hand in behalf of the great cause of justice and benevolence. I shall be gratified at all times to hear from you; and that you may be prosperous and happy, is the sincere wish of, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

Tho. L. M'Kenney, Superintendent of Indian trade.

Letter to colonel Brearly, Indian agent.

Office of Indian trade, May 3, 1820.

Dear sir—I am gratified to have the opportunity to address you by the Rev. Mr. Chapman, who will hand you this. I sincerely rejoice in your appointment to the office you now hold, not only because you have had the gift of your choice, but because I rely on your known disposition of benevolence, which you may now so advantageously exercise in promoting the welfare of the Indians. Mr. Chapman's mission is known to you. I sincerely wish him well; and on your aid I much rely. I tender you my best wishes for your happiness.

Tho. L. M'Kenney, Superintendent of Indian trade.

THE TRIP WEST.

The Union Mission Journal (11) affords us these highlights of the trip west of the first missionary family to the land of the Osages. The first entry is dated "City of New Brunswick, N. J., April 20, 1820," and continues:

11. Union Mission Journal or Diary kept by the missionaries at Union, in which was recorded events, day by day. Original copy in archives of Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

This day the Union Missionary family designated by the United Foreign Missionary Society to the Osage Indians in the Arkansas country left New York and entered on their long tour. After uniting in fervent prayer in the Society room and again on board the steamboat, they withdrew from the beloved city and respected Board. They bid adieu to friends assembled to testify their solicitude for the welfare of the mission. Having united once and again on the preceding day with the thousands of the church of God who love to pray for Zion, and having received every encouragement which the Board could give of their continued support and every assurance of their parental cares, the family, with confidence in God, set their faces towards the western wilderness. They had a desire to depart that they might visit their brethren who dwell in darkness, and they withdrew from their friends with consolation in Jesus Christ. They resigned themselves into the hands of God, being strongly persuaded, yea almost assured that they had a call to go to the heathen.

They had endeavored to gain a knowledge of their duty by placing together their desires to engage in this service and their opportunity, the call of the heathen for help on the one hand and on the other the command of Christ to help them, and they considered the call sufficient to warrant the sacrifice which they have made. When their conduct and their motives shall be reviewed at the great day, may it then be found that it was for Christ that they have done this.

We have entered upon a new and untried course of action which will probably end only with our lives. May God establish and strengthen us to be faithful unto death.

May 12, 1820. We have been conducted by a kind Providence from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and here we find an open door of hospitality. Bro. Chapman has succeeded in obtaining from the heads of the department at Washington the necessary and expected papers and assistance for the mission and a part of the money which they designed to appropriate for the education of the Indian children in the proposed schools to be established among the savages, has been advanced.

The Journal tells of the generous gifts they received enroute: \$270 at Philadelphia, \$140 at Pittsburgh and other help at Princeton and Trenton. They held services regularly while enroute. They arrived in Pittsburgh May 12, after making the trip from Philadelphia by wagon and afoot. The Journal continues:

Union Mission boats, Ohio River, May 24, 1820. About ten o'clock this morning, after uniting in religious duties on the banks of the river, in which Rev. Herron made an affectionate address to the family, we embarked on board the Union Mission boats to descend the Ohio river. These boats are two in number, having keels 75 feet long and 12 wide, and will carry about twenty tons each. They are as commodious and well fitted out as we could expect. They have each of them two cabins in the hinder-part for two families and their sisters, and comfortable berths forward for the brethren and hands. We have already engaged the 1st and 2nd pilot and three hands and expect to add to the number. Our chief pilot, Captain Boggs, of Pittsburgh, appears to be a faithful and experienced manager of the boats.

28th. We have dropped down the Ohio about 50 miles a day.

29th. This morning we were detained at Marietta till noon to receive donations and to engage a millright, Mr. John Ranson of that place.

Augusta, Kentucky, June 3rd. At Portsmouth near the Scoita river, we took on

considerable contributions sent down from Chillicothe in meat and flour, and at Manchester also we found provisions for the mission.

8th. At Cincinnati we have received in contributions of money and various other important articles to the amount of about \$500. The people have manifested a truly Christian spirit in being ready to furnish those things which we most need to complete our preparations. They are ready to exchange our surplus of flour for hard bread, which thing we found necessary because the kindness of the people from Pittsburgh down the river had bestowed upon us flour sufficient at least for a year's supply. We are two boats yet one family. We take our meals together on the roof of one of the boats, where we have a large dining hall, and eat while we float down the smooth surface. We rise at four o'clock by the ringing of the bell; in half an hour we assemble for prayer.

June 21. This evening our boats reached the mouth of the Ohio, in 28 days from Pittsburgh. During that time we spent four days as the Christian Sabbath and two days in Cincinnati. No unusual trials have been experienced.

Saturday, July 1. The mission family reached the Post of Arkansas. In two days ascended 35 miles. The necessity of an interview with his excellency Governor Miller, who resides here, leads us to continue until Monday. This evening Bro. Vaill and Bro. Chapman waited on the governor to deliver their letters from the general government and from the Society. He received them with kindness and appeared friendly to the object. He had just returned from the Osages where he had been laboring to prevent hostilities between them and the Cherokees. He promised us every facility in his power and said he would furnish us with letters to Major Bradford at Ft. Smith, and the Cherokee chiefs, that they might not molest us, and to the Osage chiefs.

July 3. We begin to feel something of the evil of sickness. One of our hired men is sick, as is also Sister Johnson. Left the post at five this evening.

July 4. Another of our hired men is taken with the fever. Our progress this day has been fifteen miles.

July 9. One of our sick men, Jacob H. Gates, died this morning.

July 10. Sister Johnson had a distressing night and today we have feared she would not recover. Sister Hoyt is very weak and low.

July 12. Sister Vaill has had a violent attack of fever.

July 16. Sister Sines is seized with the fever.

July 18. Bertha Redfield and Fuller have also been seized, and are very sick.

Friday, July 21. She, (Sister Hoyt) died half past 8 o'clock after a sickness of 17 days. This morning about 11 o'clock we interred her precious remains on the bank of the river in as eligible a situation as we could find, and with Christian decency. We left the following inscription: "Dolly E. Hoyt, member of Union Mission. Age 23, A.D. 1820."

July 22. Sickness has now become distressing. Scarcely one of the family has vigorous health. The heat is now intense, operates upon the lading permeated with moisture so as to produce a sort of vapor highly injurious to the health. The water in this river, at this time is exceedingly impure, affords our only drinking water and with this we cook our food.

Little Rock, July 24. Yesterday about 1 o'clock arrived at this place, and being provided by a kind Providence with a room for the sick, they were all removed before sunset to a distance of 100 rods. Four were removed on litters. Several others just able to walk. Here are some good springs of water.

July 25. Sister Lines died at 1 a.m. Sister Chapman was taken sick on Saturday evening. Bro. Geo. Requa and Bro. Wm. C. Requa are also sick. Bro. Vaill is unable to attend to business.

July 27. By the assistance of the hands we had retained, Bro. Chapman has completed a stone house and succeeded in removing the goods and securing them. And the boats are unloaded and exposed to the air, and they must be cleansed.

August 9. The tents we brought with us we now find useful. In one of them we take our meals, another affords a lodging place for some of the family. We have hitherto done our cooking out of doors.

September 15. At a meeting last evening, in view of the sickness which has detained the family so long at this place, and the low state of the water which may render it impracticable for the boats to proceed till late this season, voted

1. That some of the brethren with Mr. Ransom, the millwright, proceed to the place of destination as soon as suitable preparations shall have been made, in order to erect buildings for the accommodation of the family.

2. That part proceed in pirogue or large canoe, in order to carry up the necessary tools and provisions, and the rest on horses.

September 17. This day Bro. Chapman is absent to preach at a settlement about 15 miles up the river.

October 3. This morning Brethren W. C. Requa and Redfield, with Mr. Ransom and the hired men, left us to ascend the river to the place of destination, leaving Bro. Chapman and Bro. Woodruff to go by land.

December 2, 1820. For the last three weeks nothing special has happened except the return of Bro. Woodruff this evening from the Osages. He states that the brethren who left us in October proceeded as far as the Cherokees in their pirogues, and then took horses, that after much fatigue they reached the place of destination on the 15th of November, that they were in good health, had purchased some stock and were about to engage in the work of preparing buildings. He left them in three days after their arrival and came down on business. The rain has been falling copiously for several days. The river is beginning to rise and it is hoped that we may be able shortly to go forward. The family is so far restored that by divine assistance we shall be able to go on, should the river rise sufficiently.

December 12. This evening the family embarked again and bid adieu to Little Rock after a residence of four months and 19 days.

December 28. For two days we have made but little progress, yesterday but two miles, today but three or four, because of the rain, cold and difficulty of passing shoals. Our best progress in good weather is not more than 15 miles.

December 31. Reached what is called Billingsley's settlement, about 30 miles by water, 18 by land, below the garrison at Ft. Smith. Here we heard of Bro. Chapman who had come down on business, and to attend the treaty of peace with the Osages which it was expected would have been held last week at the garrison. The Osage chiefs have not come yet.

January 17, 1821. Yesterday snow fell to the depth of nine inches. The weather very cold. Bro. Woodruff came to us this evening. He left the brethren at Union Friday morning of last week, at their particular request to bring them shoes, stockings, and other clothing, together with medicines.

January 22. Bro. Chapman has returned. Saw Gov. Miller who stated that he

had seen the chiefs and that they would not attend the council at the garrison. Thus we have been disappointed of the opportunity of laying before them the views of our society and the government in regard to our coming among them.

January 24. The water is rising and the river is cleaned of ice. This afternoon, after a delay of four weeks, set forward.

January 31. The water still rising. The weather mild but rainy. Reached the garrison about noon. Paid our respects to Major Bradford and had another interview with Gov. Miller. He expects to hold council with the Cherokees, designs if possible to induce them to comply with the terms of peace which the Osages propose, which are these: That the Osages do not deliver up murderers, and that the Cherokees retain their captors. These terms will appear reasonable when we consider the fact that most if not all the Cherokees who have been killed were killed in consequence of their encroaching on the Osage hunting grounds contrary to the former treaty. The governor thinks the lives of the family will not be in jeopardy, seeing they appear to entertain favorable views of our coming among them. He intends to give the Cherokees the solemn charge in case they go to war, not to meddle with our establishment. He has also given the Osages a similar charge in respect to the establishment among the Cherokees. Since the quarrel is among themselves and the Indians do not seem disposed to make war against the white people, we proceed, trusting in the protection of a kind Providence. In the event of war it is probable the Osages will withhold their children through fear of the enemy, and what is more, we may not be safe in taking them; the same time we may do much good in preparing the way for useful labor among them at some future time.

February 8, 1821. About 10 o'clock this morning reached the long looked-for station, after a journey of nearly ten months, attended with many delays and disappointments.

February 19. Entered on the business of finishing the cabins which the brethren began last December.

February 20. Have received a kindly visit from Tally, the second Osage chief, with several of the natives. He expressed the warmest satisfaction in seeing us. In a short talk which we held with them; he observed among other things, "When Mr. Chapman came before, he said he would come again and bring some good white people with him to teach us. Now we see your faces; we feel glad; we know you are true men."

February 23. Yesterday Bro. Chapman and Bro. W. C. Requa went to the Osage village to procure an interpreter for the mission. They returned this evening and think they have obtained one who is sufficiently qualified to serve us. It would indeed be greatly to the interest of the mission could we obtain a person of learning and religion. He has a wife, an Osage woman, and two children who must come with him. His price is \$15 a month.

Rev Chapman tells of trip overland from Little Rock to Union in 1820: (13)

In the latter part of September 1820, the health of several of the brethren was to a considerable degree restored; and the necessity of having comfortable buildings ready for the family whenever they might arrive, led us to think it best

13. A.M.R., Nov. 1821, pp. 181-182; letter of Rev. Chapman.

that those who were able should proceed to the destined place, and attend to this business. Accordingly we dug out a large canoe, the water being too low to float our keel boats, and loaded it with such provisions, tools, and clothing as might be needed. On the 3rd of October, brothers Wm. C. Requa and Redfield, with Mr. Ransom and three hired men, embarked and proceeded up the river. On the 16th of October, brother Woodruff and myself commenced our journey by land, for the purpose of taking up our horses, and purchasing and driving up stock.

On the 20th we overtook the brethren in the Cherokee nation, about 150 miles by water and 100 by land from Little Rock. They had proceeded thus far with the greatest difficulty. Much of the time was spent in the water, dragging the canoe over sand bars, and frequently lifting it forward inch by inch. Having reached shoals which it was almost impossible to pass, and having heard that the navigation was still worse above, they had stored their goods in a building belonging to a Cherokee chief, and were occupied in making a smaller canoe. Although the brethren had nearly finished a small canoe, yet upon more mature deliberation, it was thought imprudent to attempt the navigation of the river without a rise of water, which was not expected until the middle of winter. We, therefore, purchased two additional horses. On these we packed such articles of food, tools, and clothing as we deemed indispensable; and on the 24th pursued our journey. In this manner we proceeded for several days. On the 30th, as we were within a day's journey of a settlement of white people, I left the party and rode forward for the purpose of purchasing stock. In consequence of the fatigue of the pack-horses, the brethren were obliged to stop six miles short of the settlement. They were destitute of water and suffering greatly for want of it. Two of their number went forward in the hope of finding water, and with the intention of returning with a supply for the party. Before they could find water, they were overtaken and severely drenched by a heavy thunder storm, and by the entire darkness of the night, they were prevented from returning to the encampment of their companions. In the meantime I had lost my way, and was bewildered and alone in the forest. By the guidance of heaven, I found myself, late in the evening, at the same miserable cottage which I had passed in the afternoon, and in this cottage, I found, to my surprise and joy, that my two wandering brethren had sought and obtained shelter from the tempest.

On the 31st of October, our party met at the settlement, and on the 4th of November, we had purchased ten cows, with their calves nearly a year old, seven steers, and one yoke of oxen.

On the 10th, we reached the Illinois river, having been for several hours, drenched with a very cold and powerful rain. Here we were detained until the 12th by the continuance and severity of the rain. This detention gave us an opportunity of examining the celebrated Saline, and the apparatus, just erected for making salt. This place had evidently been occupied for the same purpose, some hundred years ago. Where the well is dug, and where the bank is broken by the stream, there is found, several feet below the surface, a stratum, from one to three feet in thickness, of ashes, coals, and burned and melted sandstones. The stratum also contains flints, points of arrows, and broken pieces of stone and earthenware, which from their peculiar shape, had been used in the manufacturing of salt.

We arrived, on the 15th, at Union, having struggled through many difficulties which the craggy cliffs, and the deep slippery banks had occasioned. One of our hired men was so much injured he was unable to labour for several days.

Soon after our arrival, we bought 100 bushels of corn which we found in the neighborhood, and which we shall need for bread, and for our oxen and horses while performing the labour of the spring. We also purchased the right and title to all the swine in the neighborhood, amounting to about 100.

Our first business after our arrival was to make a cart, and tools necessary for the erection of a building. We then proceeded to get out shingles for the roof and planks for floors, to hew logs for the walls and split rails for fencing our field, and to draw them to their respective places. Having only one pair of cattle trained to the yoke, our business was considerably retarded. The shoes and stockings which we brought with us, were nearly worn out on the journey; and most of the time previous to the arrival of the boats, the feet of the brethren were not at all protected from the snow and mud, and very little from the briars. Being thus exposed, we suffered much from sickness. Before the arrival of the family, however, we had nearly finished house 80 feet by 18, containing five rooms. We have since built a blacksmith shop and a smokehouse.

It was an auspicious, historic occasion—the arrival of the Missionary Family on the scenes of their future labors, in the Indian country, in mid-winter more than one and a quarter centuries ago. It marked an important event in the history of the Osages and of neighboring tribes; it marked the introduction of the first school and the first religious services in a vast region, then a wild untamed frontier where education and Christianity had hitherto been unknown. To the Mission Family it was the beginning of a coveted career for which they had long prayed and planned. It was a land full of wonderment, revelation and promise to the missionaries who for the first time were a long, long way away, in an alien land of new things and new dimensions far different from what they had known in educated, refined New England which they had voluntarily abandoned to dedicate their lives to the uplift of the primitive people of the prairie.

Nature's wonders and enchanting scenes greeted them in every direction from the mission home. To the west the broad undulating prairie stretched out until it seemed to join the blue sky. The green of summer had been changed by the frosts of autumn into an amber brown sea of gently waving grass of scenic beauty. The beauty grew with the looking and when the eye shifted, there beyond, above and below, the earth, horizon and sky made one harmony of their pooled riches. Over to the west, just beyond the reach of the eye, stood the wigwams of the natives the missionaries had come to teach; otherwise there was not a human being near to disturb that inexpressive sense of the nearness of God in the solitude of the prairie.

To the east at a distance were the outlines of the Spavinaw hills covered with trees silvered and tanned by the autumn frosts. Thru the lens of the crystal air, the hills showed variations of brown and blue which were transformed, when the clouds passed between the sun and hills, into a myriad of other ecstatic colors. Near the Mission home, flowed the Neosho River, more quiet than the waving grass of the prairie. Its shining blue waters could be seen thru the gaps in the trees that skirted its shores. Wild ducks and geese tarried to rest on its surface, free from the guns of ambitious hunters that disturbed them in the settled states. Wild birds chanted their concert songs from the

trees. Overhead a blue canopy covered the heavenly goal which the missionaries were seeking for the Indians and for themselves.

Out of this scenic stillness there seemed to come a voice inviting them to abide there, and an inspiration to lend their best efforts in the service of the Creator of it all.

However, in this world, things are not always what they seem, and the missionaries were to endure many difficulties, privations and hardships in the months to come. Indeed so great were their disappointments and sufferings that only their zealous fortitude and their sincere devotion to the cause for which they labored held them steadfast.

Location and Description of Union.

Union Mission was located on what is now section 16, township 19, range 19, in Mayes county, Oklahoma, one and one-half miles west of U.S. Highway No. 69, about four miles from the little city of Mazie. Pelham letter No. 2 says 'Union is delightfully situated upon a large prairie containing eight hundred acres of land, rather more than twenty miles from the mouth of the Neosho or Grand river, a rapid stream, navigable a part of the year. This river flows by the prairie on which the mission was built.' Dr. Palmer wrote this description of the location: (14)

"The place chosen is a fine prairie, containing eight hundred or a thousand acres of land, fringed around with woods. On one side flows Grand river, a rapid stream. In this country are to be found a considerable abundance of wild horses, buffalos, elk, bear, wolves, deer, panthers, swan, geese, ducks, turkeys, and honey. About a mile distant is a salt spring, which will be wrought this season."

Mr. Redfield tells of the site as he saw it: (15)

"The place selected for our establishment is very beautiful. There is an excellent spring. The soil is rich and easily cultivated.

"The Osages possess a beautiful tract of country, very fertile and healthy but they know nothing about cultivation. The country abounds with buffalo, bear and deer. The buffalo is superior to any beef I have tasted. In raising stock we shall have no need of hay. Cattle and horses will feed on cane, which continues green through the year, and which grows in abundance on the low grounds."

Mr. Chapman describes the first building, thus: (16)

"We immediately commenced the erection of cabins for the accommodation of the family on their arrival. These cabins are five in number, united in one building, 80 feet in length, and 18 in width. Preparations are also making for enclosing 100 acres of land, or more for tillage."

14. A.M.R., Aug. 1821, p. 58, Dr. Palmer's letter dated March 18, 1821.

15. A.M.R., May 1821, pp. 436-7, Mr. Redfield's letter dated Union, Dec. 4, 1820.

16. A.M.R., April, 1821, p. 382; Chapman to Col. McKenney, Mar. 22, 1821.

Writing, on September 26, 1821, Mr. Redfield said, "We now have, 20 by 24, a room for the hired men 18 by 20, a kitchen 24 feet in addition to our five rooms, a school house 18 feet square, a warehouse square." (17)

The First Year at Union.

The most accurate, dependable and interesting information about the early days of Union Mission is contained in the Union Mission Journal, part of which has already been quoted. We are selecting only those entries that we believe will interest the general reader, but are including all that contain worthwhile information. The following is a continuation of the Journal, beginning with page 51:

Wednesday, March 7th, 1821. When the brethren visited the Osage village week before last they made arrangements to hold a talk with them this week to explain to them our designs of coming to settle among them. The family thought it best that as many should attend as could be spared from our work, and could be accommodated with horses. Accordingly Brethren Vaill, Chapman, Palmer and Geo. Requa proceeded to the village on Monday. On Tuesday morning we laid before them our papers from the Society and from Government. The only interpreter we could obtain at that time being inadequate, we labored under many disadvantages in explaining to make them understand the full import of the papers. Besides this their language is very barren of terms suited to explain the nature of a missionary society and the meaning of many things connected with the mission. They understood, however, that our design of coming among them was to do them good. The principal chief, whose name is Clarmore (pronounced in two syllables Cla more, both long,) expressed in behalf of his people the warmest satisfaction; and spoke with the utmost animation in recommending the thing to their attention. He gave us to understand, in case they do not go to war, he should send some of his own children, as soon as we could get ready to receive them.

The village is situated about twenty-eight miles west of Union, near the Vermillion, on an extensive plain skirted with trees and natural mounds. These mounds are chiefly to the north of the village from on to four miles. They rise in regular form to the height of about 200 feet with a table top. The plain below continues on a level till you arrive at the foot. The top of these several mounds are level with one another; and lead the imagination at once to conceive of them as ancient fortifications or towns of safety reared by some vast army.

The place where the village stands is what is usually called prairie, which is open land without trees or shrubs; and many of the prairies in this country are immensely extensive and have a strong rich soil producing grass, flowers, etc. The village contains about 250 lodges, and probably 3000 souls. Their lodges are generally from fifty to one hundred feet in length, irregularly situated within a half mile square. They are constructed of poles, mattings, barks and skins. The poles are set in the ground with a crotch at the top and cross poles to support the roof. The side poles are about eight feet in height, the middle or ridge poles about twenty feet. Some have barks set up against the cross poles. Most, however, have planks which they have split out fastened in the ground one beside the other, as people in some parts of the country make fence. The roofs are covered with skins

17. A.M.R., Dec. 1821, p. 223; Redfield to friend in N. Y., date Union, Sept. 26, 1821.

or mattings. These lodges being made of very light materials can be taken down and removed or rebuilt in a short time. When a lodge need to (be) rebuilt their wives meet in the morning, remove the coverings in an hour's time, take up the posts, and each woman digs a hole in the ground with a knife, and removes the dirt with her hands. Thus 20 or 30 holes are dug at once and the poles set over again, and the covering replaced with the intended improvements, in a few hours. In the middle of the lodge they make their fires on the ground without any chimney, leaving the smoke to pass out through a hole in the top of the roof. In some lodges they have two, (in) others three fire places. They have neither floors nor seats but spread their skins or mattings for strangers to lie upon. They sit in circles around their fires, part of the family around one fire and part around another. Their covering consists of legging of deer skins with a blanket or buffalo robe over their shoulders. The females in addition have short skirts and coverings for the breasts.

They are remarkable for hospitality. No sooner does a stranger who comes on friendly designs, arrive among them than he is welcome to their lodges. His horse is immediately taken care of by the wives. The house where he enters is thronged with spectators. Frequently he is invited from lodge to lodge to partake of their ample fare. The numerous invitations cannot be dispensed without giving offense. The consequence is that you are often called to eat as many as 15 or 20 times the same morning or evening. They are irregular in their meals. They have a number of cooks whose business is to wait on visitors and conduct them from one lodge to another. When you enter a lodge after you have spoken to the men you sit down; if you attempt to shake hands with the women or children they think strange of it for they are not used to compliments. When their food is ready it is presented in a wooden dish with as many ladles as visitors. The more freely you eat, the more you please them. The cook, if he chooses, takes the residue and then leads you to another lodge. Their females perform the labor. The men do the hunting, go to war, and much of the time have nothing to do, while the laborious wife or daughter is packing wood across the plains, or bringing water, or planting corn and the like. In their hunting parties the women take care of their horses, prepare their encampments, in short do all the drudgery, while the men spend their leisure time in smoking and diversion. The men are generally speaking, of a fine stature, have a frank open countenance, are robust, active and healthy.

The women though strong are much disproportioned in their height. The young men present a noble appearance. The children are numerous and remarkably submissive to parental government. They live in the practice of polygamy. When a young man marries into a family, he removes to the lodge to assist in supporting his wife's parents, and upon performing certain exploits in hunting, stealing horses and the like, he is entitled to the remaining sisters. In council they appear with dignity and in their speeches they are eloquent. A council held among them excites general attention. If anything new is communicated they listen eagerly. In their government, having no national confederacy, they have little energy. The influence of their chiefs is limited to their respective parties. They are constant in their devotions. They black their faces with mud and cry to the great spirit. At the dawning of day you may hear hundreds crying aloud. In this they are indeed a reproof to thousands who profess to worship God in spirit and in truth, who at the same time, are too indolent or too negligent to leave their couches of repose to pay their morning homage to Him whom they profess to love.

The past week the family removed into their new cabins. Never since we left our dwelling in the east have we felt more pleasure than in finding a place in this far remote wilderness which we may call our own.

March 14, 1821. Yesterday had a visit from nine Osage warriors, who by their own statement had set out for the garrison to learn whether the Cherokees meant

to go to war with them; but some new fears being excited in their minds lest they should meet the enemy, they tarried today and returned to their village.

March 17. This day put our blacksmith shop in operation. Brother Woodruff's occupation will be of great importance to the establishment. Mr. Ransom is gradually regaining his reason and his health.

March 28. Received word from Major Bradford of war being declared between the Cherokees and Osages. He states that the Cherokees had requested that the white people might be removed lest their young men should molest them. We concluded it is our duty to trust God and continue here. "The name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous runneth into it and is safe."

March 29. Today Brother Palmer has experienced a severe attack of the intermittent. Brother George Requa has been afflicted with this disorder for some time past. Brother Woodruff is not well. Mr. Ransom is too feeble to labor.

April 4th, 1821. Had a visit from Clamore with a number of his warriors. He told us that 400 of his warriors were going against the Cherokees, that after a short encampment for hunting on this side of the river they intended to cross, and march down to the Cherokee nation and attack them on their own ground, that he himself had come as far as here to warn us not to let our cattle or horses be out of sight, lest some of his young men should take them. He stated in particular his fear of misconduct from those of the other villages over whom he had no control. Clamore appeared much attached to us, and we doubt neither his friendship for this family, nor his loyalty to the government to (of) the United States.

April 14. The Osages who went down last week are now returning. They state that they had killed several of the Cherokees and some Quapaws, and it appears they have stolen many horses from the white people.

April 17. At a meeting this evening voted 1st, that Brother Chapman and Brother Wm. C. Requa be appointed to study the Osage language. It being understood that Brother Requa devote only so much time as is consistent with his duty on the farm. Our interpreter who engaged to come the 15th, has not yet arrived.

May 16. This morning the brethren voted that Brother Chapman and Brother Requa make preparations as soon as possible and pursue the Indians to their hunting ground, in order to be with them to learn their language. This measure has been resorted to as the only alternative in our present condition. We have been crossed and disappointed with regard to acquiring the language. Thus God is trying us.

May 17. A person has called upon us who has been in pursuit of stolen horses. He states that he left the Osages at their encampment about 20 miles from their village, that Clamore requested him to go to Webber, one of the most influential chiefs of the Cherokees, and inform him that he wished to have peace, that he did not wish to injure the white people, and that there are too many between the two nations for them to be at war; that he should keep his young men from fighting three months and give the Cherokees time to conclude whether they would make peace or continue the war. That if they would send an agent, or properly authorized person with a chief, he would conclude a peace that would stand, and that after that, if any of his village made depredations he would assist the Cherokees in gaining satisfaction of these villages; but as he could not control the other villages he would not be answerable for the damages they did. He said he did not beg for peace because he could send an army of 1500 warriors; and if they saw fit to carry on the war he should on his part carry it on with vigor.

May 25. The family met and assented unanimously to the articles and covenants as suitable for them to adopt in forming a church. In this meeting the sweetest

harmony of sentiment and feeling has been manifested, and we have concluded to set apart tomorrow for the purpose of forming ourselves into a church and attending to suitable religious exercises, together with fasting. We have agreed to suspend our business and invite our hired men to observe the day with us.

May 29. This evening a large keel boat arrived from the mouth of White river with 33 bbls. of flour, a large pair of mill stones and bolting cloth. These were ordered by the Board last autumn. By this boat arrived also a box of clothing for Indian children containing \$450 from the Female Union Mission Society, Philad.

July 10. Mr. Vaill returned after an absence of six weeks. He had a pleasant voyage down the river and reached the post in twelve days. Was enabled to draw upon the Board for one thousand dollars in money, and to pay by draft the freight due on the flour to the amount of \$427, and make such arrangements for the payment of our expenses as to prevent a longer journey. The mission begins to be known and its credit is established so that drafts are ready payment.

June 13. Some of the brethren went down to the loading house to pack up bacon, also potatoes for planting. We have had little meat since our arrival at this place, but what the wilderness has furnished.

August 8, 1821. From the information of Col. Glenn, we conclude that the Harmony Mission Family have reached their station. Considering it desirable that we form an early and have a mutual understanding in measures that regard the interest of both missions, Resolved that Brother Chapman proceed to Harmony Mission station to confer among other things about the propriety of uniting with them in having a good interpreter for the purpose of studying the language.

August 24. Br. Redfield having recovered his health set out for the village this morning. Having heard that some are wishing to send their children to us, we sent them word that we are prepared to take them. Our scruples about taking children if they should be offered are subsiding as the probability of being visited at any time by hostile Indians, with evil intentions, continually diminishes. Our desire to be able to teach these poor children of nature the way to heaven is great beyond expression.

August 25. Br. Redfield brot word that four or five children would be sent immediately.

Lord's Day. Evidently God is enlarging our hearts to pray for the heathens. Encouraging to the believer is the promise of God to his son, "I will give Thee heathen for thine inheritance." As God moves in a mysterious way his purposes to fulfill, we will not despond even when he seems to frown. We have waited long, but others have waited longer, whose success has in the event been glorious.

August 27. Four children were brought this morning, half-breeds, three of them belong to a Frenchman who serves as an interpreter in the village. We gladly received them, took off their battered, dirty garments, and clothed them with some of the new and clean clothes which we had in readiness. These children are between the ages of four and twelve.

August 28. Resolved to build a kitchen of logs 24 square. Since our arrival in this place, we have cooked under a shed and eaten till lately under a tent.

Frid. 31. A poor Osage woman of about 30 years having presented herself and requested to be admitted to the family; agreed we would receive her on trial, hoping she may be able to help the sisters in their labors. We have not been able to obtain female assistance. The sisters are wearing down for want of help.

Sept. 12, 1821. Bro. Vaill went to the village on Monday. What a flock of children thronged about him on his arrival! Interesting group of immortals. When shall we teach them a Savior's love? It is the silence of death there. Not a whisper of salvation has been heard by these perishing thousands.

Sept. 27. Bro. Chapman has entered the study of the language in company with Bro. Pixley of Harmony, under a Mr. (William Sherley) Williams, who is the best interpreter of the Osage tongue in the country. Mr. Williams is employed at the factory and offers to assist gratuitously.

October 15. Br. Spaulding reached home this evening. He found no money at the garrison as was expected. The Cherokees are now on the march into this country. Major Bradford held a council with them endeavoring to dissuade them from their purpose. His efforts, however, were ineffectual, and he has no authority to prevent their proceeding. He gave them a fresh charge not to disturb this establishment. Still he advises to keep an eye on our stock and to keep the children close. Supposing that they intend to destroy every man, woman and child of the Osages if it be in their power. Before we arrived in this country we expected that the design of the garrison was to keep peace among the Indians. We find, however, that they are not to oppose the Indians in their wars with each other.

Oct. 17. Consulted concerning our duty should any of the Cherokees come to injure the family; concluded that we had nothing to do with carnal weapons. Still (think) that we ought to use all suitable means to keep them from violence. We fear they would destroy the little Osage children were it in their power.

Nov. 11. Br. Woodruff and Sister Foster were this day united by solemnly taking upon themselves the marriage covenant.

Nov. 16. Bro. Chapman and Bro. Requa the elder, set out for Harmony to pursue the study of the language.

Nov. 21. Br. Vaill returned with the sad intelligence that the Cherokees have overtaken a party of Osages and destroyed a number.

December 5. Several families arrived in wagons from Missouri. They came by the way of Harmony and met Brethren C. and R. pursuing their journey in good spirits. These people have been expecting to settle on this side of the Arkensaw (Arkansas), between this place and Ft. Smith but the late official orders for people to leave this part of the country wholly disconcerts their plans.

Dec. 7. The Missouri people have lost nine horses stolen by the Little Osages.

Dec. 17. Bro. Woodruff left us this morning for the Osage village. It is our practice to visit them as often as we can and this is all we may do for the present. To tell them of the Savior's love, to pour the balm of heaven into their hearts, to point them to an overruling providence, to exhort them to submission, or even to teach their children the rudiments of learning is beyond our power. We have as yet no medium of access, no one to interpret the language of the gospel.

Perplexing Handicaps.

It requires no long stretch of the imagination to comprehend the situation that confronted the missionaries during the first several months of their abode in the Osage country. They were located in a strange land, yet untrodden by the feet of white men, many miles from the nearest white settlement, with no society outside of their own small circle, with no mail service closer than Fort Smith several days

journey away, and even then only intermittently. They were in a land where neither a church nor a school had ever been built, where even the name of Christ was unknown, where stealing, polygamy, and even murder were held by the natives to be virtues. There were wars and rumors of wars almost continuously. Uncertainty, tumult, fear and anxiety reigned.

What a change! Yes, what a change from the comforts of happy home life and Christian society the members of the family had enjoyed in the east! The published letters of the missionaries do not tell the whole story, but they tell much. The reader must conjecture the rest.

Here are two letters written by Superintendent Vaill to the Domestic Secretary, in which he tells his sponsors of situations that confront them: (18)

Union, August 24, 1821.

After a lapse of three months, I sit down amidst a multiple of concerns to write to the Board. We have been visited, the summer past, with sickness. Dr. Palmer is now quite ill. Of seven hired men, not more than three or four are able to help us, the rest being unwell. Our business has consequently moved on with less rapidity. Were the Board on the ground, I think they would not hesitate to acknowledge that we have hitherto labored under many embarrassments. The idea of erecting mills and permanent houses in a year, we find preposterous. We have to break cattle to the yoke, and make other preparations. Bro. Woodruff has not been able to work at the shop for more than two months. One building after another has been necessary. We have found a lodging room for the hands indispensable; then a school, a kitchen, a joiner's shop, etc. Considering how far we have to go for logs and puncheons, it cannot be expected that a log building can be finished in a week. The difficulty of finding sawyers also retards the building of the large house contemplated.

We intend to commence our mill this fall, but know not where to set them. Grand river is too rapid in high water, and in low water it will not answer the purpose. Besides, it is too wide for a mill dam. The creeks have water but a small part of the year.

The war is not yet ended. Still our peace has not been invaded, for we have dwelt in safety. The Osage have set out for another hunt. They have agreed to suspend hostilities for the present. The Osages on the Arkansas greatly need an agent. They think they have been neglected, and we believe they have reason to think so.

Sometimes more than three months pass in which no letter can be sent away.

We live at a great distance from the postoffice. Should a mail be established through this country, it would essentially alter our circumstances.

Union, March 2, 1822. (19)

We have been much perplexed and straightened for want of money to discharge our debts, many of which cannot be discharged without cash. The difficulty seems to lie wholly in the scarcity of money in this region. Bro. Chapman, whose health is feeble, is about to proceed to New Orleans for the purpose of negotiating a draft.

18. Rev. Vaill to Domestic Secretary of U.F.M.S., dated Union, Aug. 24, 1821; A.M.R. Dec. 1821; p. 212.

19. Same to same, March 2, 1822; A.M.R. June 1822, p. 408-9.

During the last summer, we attempted to put forward a large frame building, but our sawyers failed us. Finding it would be far less expensive to build houses with a saw mill, we turned our attention to the erection of mills. Mr. Ransom and Mr. Redfield are now engaged in getting out timber ten miles up the river. For fencing we are also at great labour. The difficulty of getting fencing stuff, and the want of help in the season of it, in a great measure defeated our calculations last year. But, Sir, there is no ground for discouragement except the war.

We have sent an order to Cincinnati for flour, pork, dried fruit, beans and two large kettles to manufacture salt at the saline near us. We are now raising 70 head (cattle) belonging to the mission. We have ten yoke of oxen, all of which are needed on the farm and in building, besides a team of horses. The want of good ploughs, cart boxes and other implements, have been a great hinderance to our improvements.

Indian Warfare Interferes.

Warfare between the Osages and Cherokees helped to multiply the troubles at Union. It brought unsteadiness, uneasiness and confusion to the whole country. Not only did it cause the Osages to be frequently shifting about, either to attack, or in fear of being attacked, but it kept their minds so disturbed that they gave little attention to other matters. It also created a fear in their minds that if they left their children at the mission school, it might be attacked and their children killed while they were not present to protect them. This warfare was a major handicap to the mission and school, and yet it was one the missionaries were powerless to overcome. However, this can best be told by one who had first hand information, as shown in this letter by Rev. Vaill: (20)

"You will doubtless have heard before this arrives that the Cherokees have gone westward in pursuit of the Osages. Capt. Pryor, who has been out with them on their hunt, has returned. He gives the following account:

"About the first day of November the Osages were overtaken by the Cherokees and not far from one hundred of the former were either taken or killed. At the time of this defeat, the Osage warriors were absent, and the old men, women and children were in a defenceless condition. The Cherokees came suddenly upon their encampment, and all who were able fled for their lives. They were pursued for one day and part of another, and everyone who was overtaken in the pursuit fell a sacrifice to the enemy. Some of them were slain and others made prisoners.

"In their flight, the Osages lost their peltry, their meat, many of their horses, and most of the few utensils they possessed. They have consequently returned poor, distressed and mortified. It is with a heart full of pain that I tell you of their disasters—that I tell you that many of the people for whom we have been praying, and whose good we have been seeking, are massacred. Some of the women taken captive have since been murdered with the tomahawk in a most affecting manner.

"What will be the event of this war, we cannot presage, but its bearing on the Mission is serious. The three little ones we have had with us since September, have been kept in safety. No enemy has approached us, and probably none will. It was

20. Same to same, Dec. 10, 1821, *Missionary Herald*, May 1822, p. 146.

affecting to see with what a trembling heart their father came to our establishment today to ascertain whether his children were alive. Having embraced and kissed them, he exclaimed, "I am satisfied. You are better off than if you had been with the Osages."

"We cannot believe that the desires of the Cherokees to drive the Osages from their land will be granted. We cannot yet believe that it is the design of our government to send the Indians from the east of the Mississippi river to carry on perpetual war with the natives of this country who have an inherent right to the soil. We cannot yet believe that all the expense and labors of this Mission, not to speak of its sufferings, will be lost. Let us not be disheartened.

"When the Osage warriors left their encampment, they considered it as perfectly secure from attack. They felt confident that Major Bradford, at Fort Smith, would prevent the Cherokees from coming on. When he was at their village in September, he promised to do all he could to keep back the Cherokees; and they imagined that this amounted to the declaration that he would keep them back. They were therefore dissatisfied with Major Bradford, and think they have been deceived by him. They have, however, no ground to think so. The Major has no authority to prevent the Indians from going to war. They are also exasperated with the white people who live near the Cherokees, having understood that some of the whites were with the invading party.

"Our building will be much interrupted this winter. We must spend some time in taking care of our stock, or lose it, as the war will now be carried on by straggling parties, whose hunger will drive them to kill cattle and hogs wherever they may be found. We shall endeavor to preserve the property in our hands and to subserve, as far as we are able, the interests of the Mission. Our hearts were never more closely bound to the missionary work. The Family are united and happy.

In a letter dated December 26, 1821, Rev. Vaill adds: (21)

"The war is still going on. We cannot predict the consequences. We are daily talking among ourselves about the way to obtain more of the Osage children. We can say to them in the words of the Gospel—Come, for all things are ready. Brother Woodruff made them a visit last week. He was much affected with the sight of their poverty. He rode over with the father of the children who are with us. On their arrival the father told the Osages how well his children were fed and clothed, and how fast they learned to speak the American language. Clamore, the principal chief, was exceedingly pleased with the account, and said: 'I wish that the war was over that I might send my children there also.'

Treaty of Peace.

The coming of peace is heralded in this letter by Rev. Vaill, dated August 27, 1822: (22)

"I hasten to give you the pleasing intelligence that a treaty of peace was signed at Fort Smith on the 9th inst. between the Osages and the Cherokees. I have not been able to obtain a copy of the treaty; but, by Mr. Chapman, we learn that they have mutually agreed to maintain perpetual peace; that eight of the prisoners are already delivered up to the Osages, and the remainder are to be surrendered by the 21st of Sept.; that the Osages are to permit the Cherokees to hunt on their land south of the Arkansaw without interruption; that, in passing through each other's country on the north of this river, they may hunt for subsistence, but are to build

21. Same to same, Dec. 26, 1821; *Missionary Herald*, May 1822, p. 146.

22. Same to same, August 27, 1822, *Missionary Herald*, May 1822, p. 395.

no hunting camps; that, if either party commit depredations on the other, the injured party is not to seek private revenge, but to appeal to the proper agent—and both parties have agreed that the government of the U. S. shall see that the articles of the treaty are carried out. The Osages are to pay \$300 from their annuities for a breach upon a Cherokee hunting party in the autumn of 1820.

"Thus the war is ended. Since we came into this country we have seen the Indians rush into war, and have also seen them come at length to the dealings of Providence towards this mission. We propose soon to observe a day of thanksgiving. Hitherto we have been called to fasting and prayer. Now we rejoice with trembling. We know not what trials are yet before us."

Alas, the poor missionaries had yet to learn that the Indians were not better than some moderns who look upon treaties as 'scraps of paper.'

Contacts With Indian Life.

The portrayal of the habits, customs, and traditions of the Osage Indians is one of the objects of this book. The history of Union and associated missions is another. The two are closely associated, so much so that neither can well be told without the other, and can best be told by those familiar with both. The experiences of the missionaries in their direct dealings with the Osages, as related in the Union Mission Journal for 1822, are so replete with incidents that well serve the double purpose, that many of those entries are given here in full:

(23)

January 1, 1822. Our time of rising at this season half past five. We breakfast and attend family worship before sunrise and then proceed to the various duties of the day.

Jan. 5. Brethren Chapman and Wm. C. Requa arrived home from Harmony after a journey of five days. In going and coming they have as usual been obliged to lie in the open air. They have collected a dictionary of about 2000 words, and made some advancement towards a grammar. Br. R. has journeyed as far as Franklin, on the Missouri, 180 miles beyond Harmony to procure money for the mission but did not succeed.

Mr. Philbrook, sub-agent, has been laboring for several days among the people to effect a peace. At first he found Clamore much warped by the ill advice of a trader from Missouri; but he had well nigh concluded on removing with his people. It was some time before he could prevail on the old chief to listen to his talk. Tally, the second chief, remained firm, and used his influence to bring the warriors to agree to have peace. Tally's arguments are worthy of record. He said: "The war has made us poor enough. We ought not to pursue it any longer," and again, "I do not want to live always with my thumb on the lock of a gun." He said moreover that by continuing the war they should displease their Great Father, the president. This argument perhaps had more weight with the Osages than any other Indians. As yet they continue loyal and want nothing but more attention from our rulers to make them do the thing that is right. A good agent among them we consider indispensable to their prosperity.

Feb. 8. Brother Chapman came in from the hunting party with Clamore and several other Indians. He found them much more filthy, particularly in eating the entrals of animals than we have witnessed at the village. Instead of worshiping the Great Spirit as we supposed from their frequent use of the word Woh-kun-dah which we were told means the Great Spirit, we find that they have four principal deities, vis., the sun, the moon, the earth and thunder. To each of these deities they apply the word Woh-kun-dah to express the divinity and providence of each. The sun they say is god because it gives light, warmth and fertility. The moon is god because, they imagine, it presides over the propagation of mankind and of animals. The earth is god because it nourishes and supports them. And thunder is god because as they say it causes rain. Besides these there are a number of inferior deities, the number and names of which we have not yet learned. On the whole we conclude they have no correct idea of the One Supreme God, and are a people given to idolatry. They have no images, but they have what is called their medicine bag, being a collection of curious and strange things which they hold sacred and consult on solemn occasions. This is a kind of oracle; they do not appear to worship it, yet they place great confidence in it.

Feb. 15. We continually feel the effects of the war. The people on every side feel it. The Indians feel it in a still more lamentable manner. We sincerely hope our want of success will not discourage our friends in a Christian land. It is a dark cloud that hangs over us, but God is able to bring light out of darkness, and good out of evil, and to make the wrath of man to praise him.

March 11. Four Osages arrived this morning. They say Clamore feels bad and wants to see us. Poor people, we pity them. We are much tried. For while they are looking to us for help, we do not know what to do for them.

Apr. 10. Bro. Vaill and Br. Wm. rode to the village on Monday, returned today. The people are very poor, and have little to eat besides corn and are much distressed by the continuance of the war. The agent gave them the governor's talk on Tuesday. They seemed disappointed in not having peace. We took the opportunity to urge on them the importance of sending their children to this place for instruction. Endeavored to convince them that their enemies were afraid to injure this establishment and by many reasons labored to gain some. Among other arguments we laid before them the labors of good people among other Indians, their willingness to have their children taught and the great benefit they have received. In a word we gave them all the light we could, but we labored in vain as to present success.

April 12. The agent has returned from the village. We have read their talk. They express their loyalty to the government of the U. S. They say whom shall we hold by the hand if not our great father, the President. Their talk breathes the spirit of peace. Mr. Philbrook proposes to urge the commanding officer at the garrison, if it be in any way consistent for him to do so, to stop the Cherokees from distressing these people any further, as he thinks their proposed terms are reasonable.

April 19. This evening put a number of questions to the Osage to find out their views about religion. In answer to the question, "Who made the world?" he said he did not know. We find the Osages place great stress on dreams. These they look upon as a kind of revelation. They are much influenced in their most important measures by a dream.

Apr. 24. Br. Wm. Requa and Br. Woodruff returned from the village after an absence of three days. An Osage came with them to get medicine for a man badly wounded by a bear. They say his life is in danger. Agreed that Dr. Palmer go to the village to help the poor wounded man. The brethren witnessed what is called Woh-kun-duk-ka's dance for rain. Within a week the earth has been blessed with seasonable showers. Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain?

April 26. We have many Osages around us today. They have resorted to the saline to make salt. While the women are cutting and etching wood and boiling off the salt, the men, according to their custom, are entirely at leisure.

May 1. Last evening a Woh-kun-duk-ka played some of his tricks but when he found we were not pleased he desisted. This class of people aim to live by their trade. They profess to do cures but since Dr. Palmer has done something for them the Osages say their doctors are worth nothing, and none of the people appear so trifling as these foolish conjurers.

May 4. The Indians still coming. We make it a point to feed them more or less, but provisions growing short with us, we find it necessary to deal out bread with a sparing hand. But there is a table spread for all people when there is bread enough to spare.

May 10. Had a talk with the chiefs. After some general discussion of the subject respecting the design of our coming, put the question in direct terms. Is there anything that keeps back your children? They replied to the following effect: We know you come great distance to teach us. We know that good people sent you here, and expected we should give you our children before now. We have heard that other Indians send their children to Missouri. All this is good. But we don't know what may happen to our children. We have been deceived. The Cherokees came upon us last fall, and destroyed many lives and carried off our women and children because the white chief at the Porteau (meaning Major Bradford) did not send us word, as he engaged to do. Our people are afraid it will be so if our children come to live with you. But you must not leave us on this account. It is our prayer to the Great Spirit that you may accomplish your object. As you have said that you have prayed God that we may be happy, so we have prayed that you may prosper. You must not blame us, but you must blame the people below (meaning the Cherokees). It is owing to them that our children are not in your school.

May 11. Clamore says but little and nothing encouraging. But Tally speaks more favorably. He has brought three daughters and a son, all promising children. We said, "won't you leave these?" His son told us he wishes to stay. His father has gone so far as to say, "I will leave him before we go on our hunt." This he says is the truth, "I will not deceive you."

May 13. The subject was again introduced this morning; when Tally, after some minutes of deep thinking, enquired how long do you wish to have him tarry? We replied till he becomes a man and learns what we know. He then said, "take him, he is your son, I will not take him from you." This child we have named Phillip Milledoler. His original name is Woh-sis-ter, which reminds us of that ardent and venerable friend of the heathen who now rests from his labors, Worcester.

May 28. Our young chief was a little daunted about putting on his clothes because as he said the Indians laughed at him for being a white man. At school time, being a little doubtful about his intentions, we said, "come Philip, put on your clothes and go to school." He replied he would go to school but would not put on the clothes again until the Indians were gone.

May 30. We had an interesting interview with Tally. He seemed to hesitate a little about continuing his son with us. He said the people laughed at him and called him a man of no sense and such like for giving his son to the missionaries to become a white man. We told him that if the Indians laughed at him now he should not mind it. They would soon see he was a man of great sense. His son for a few mornings seemed to hesitate, and said it would be better to go out and eat buffalo meat. But Tally's wife remained firm, and after a few minutes he replied: "What you have said is good. My son shall stay, and this other boy too, a relation of mine

shall be your son. Take good care of them. Do not let them talk Osage but teach them English. Don't make them half Osage, but make them white men wholly. Give them full dress. Take off their humpas (moccasins), put on stockings and shoes. I want them dressed before I leave you so I may not weep for my children when I am on my hunt."

The second child was named Robert Monroe in compliance with the request of the Female Society, George Town, who have pledged the sum of \$30 annually for the support of a boy by that name.

June 28. An instance of Indian fidelity has occurred which has given us great satisfaction. Having informed the leader of a party of Indians who encamped near the establishment that we had given so much meat and bread to the Osages of late that we had scarcely any left and therefore could not be very liberal to his party, instead of expecting us to feed him, he began to inquire how he could feed us. Accordingly while he tarried he brought in several deer for us, for which he asked no compensation. When they were about to remove across the river for hunting, he told us he would send us buffalo meat. In a week he appeared with one of his wives who had a load of buffalo meat, well cured. He would receive no compensation.

July 12. Tally came to see his son. He had heard unfavorable stories, which he said made him come immediately to see if they were true. He had heard that we purchased his children for powder, made slaves of them and the like; all proving Indians to be fruitful in mischief.

Aug. 14. Philip Milledoler and Robert Monroe left us this evening. The former gave as a reason for going away that his father was displeased. The latter gave no reason.

Aug. 22. Among the goods which lately came to hand, besides the liberal supply of clothing from New York, we have opened a box of 400 garments from the Female Union Society, Philadelphia; also two boxes of valuable articles by a friend of missions in Ohio.

Aug. 29. Philip returned, bringing back part of his clothes tied up in a bundle.

Sept. 3. Br. and Sister Chapman arrived home from the village after an absence of eight days. They lived on Indian fare and have returned in health. Robert Monroe came back with them. His clothes he left among his friends and returned naked as did Philip the other day.

Sept. 26. Aug. P. Chouteau with a party of Indians from White Hair's village called here. He intends to form an establishment on this river above this place and states that White Hair's have left their town with the intention of moving on this river.

Oct. 17. An Indian woman died from our Indian house last night. They buried her this morning; and with her they laid in the grave her knife, a ladle and other articles, according to their custom.

Nov. 15. Augustus P. Chouteau has established himself at the place formerly occupied by Mr. Revoir who was killed by the Indians. On Monday Mr. Pixley went up for the purpose of being with the Indians who are near this establishment. Mr. Chouteau's establishment is 15 miles up the river and on the other side.

Dec. 9. Indian appeared this morning having his face blackened and his wife with earth on her head. They were crying long before the dawn of day. Being asked to eat, they replied, "no, we are poor, i. e. we are unhappy." The Osages never eat

while the signs of sadness are upon them. "Except they wash they eat not." Sometimes they pass the whole day in voluntary abstinence.

Report Comments.

Under date of July 1823, the Missionary Herald contained these comments on the conditions at Union as reported to the Missionary Society: (24)

The report mentions the treaty of peace effected between the Osages and Cherokees during the last summer, and, after stating the conditions of the treaty, the performance of which the government of the United States is to guarantee, remarks:

"The Osages are not entirely satisfied with the terms of the treaty; yet worn out and impoverished by the fatigues and disasters of the war, they rejoiced in the return of peace, and determined to fulfil, on their part, the conditions of the unequal compact.

"Notwithstanding the inconvenience and dangers of the war, your missionaries stood firm at their post, and carried on their various improvements with a prompt and steady hand.

"Considerable progress has been made in the agricultural department, and hopes are expressed that no further drafts will be made on the Board for the purchase and freight of provisions for this establishment. The value of the missionary property at the station is estimated at \$24000. Concerning the school the report speaks as follows:

"The school at this station, at the date of our latest advices, embraced only seven native children. Of this number, three were mentioned in the last report, and four were admitted in the months of May and June. One of the latter, a youth of 15 years, is a son of Tally, the second chief of the tribe. They have made considerable proficiency in speaking and understanding the English language, and were spelling in words of two or three syllables. The three who first entered the school converse in English with fluency; the oldest, a lad in his ninth year, reads with facility and occasionally serves the family as an interpreter.

"The Mission. Although there are some circumstances in the account we have not given, of the progress of this mission, less favorable than could have been wished, yet, in the language of the superintendent, "there is, on the whole, much to encourage the efforts which the government and the Christian public are making for the benefit of the Osages of the Arkansaw." Their confidence is secured. They believe that it is our design to do them good; and there is good reason to hope that this wandering tribe, by the blessing of Him who rules the earth in righteousness, and who has required us to send the gospel to every nation, will soon be brought to taste the comforts and enjoy the privileges which religion and civilization afford."

The Beginning of Progress.

The year of 1823 was the first one during which the mission appeared to be making any real progress. The war troubles which had been a very great handicap, had at least partially subsided; contacts with the Indians, both at the station and at the villages, were more frequent as well as more agreeable; the number of pupils in the school

slowly increased, and a few of the adults began showing a disposition towards agriculture. These favorable trends were truly encouraging, but there still remained many difficulties, as may be seen from these extracts from the Mission Journal: (25)

Jan. 3, 1823. Bro. Palmer arrived with eleven hands, most of whom are engaged for one year. To collect these, he has traveled as far as the Missouri, 300 miles.

Jan. 6. Since we came here we have distributed 3000 tracts and given to the destitute a number of bibles and other books.

Jan. 8. Held a talk with Moi-neh-per-sha, a young chief, about settling near us, and changing his habits. He has often on his own accord spoken to us on this subject.

Feb. 14. Clamore has committed to our care an adopted son. Have washed and clad our new pupil and named him Techanah Lewis.

Mar. 4. The Indians moved off early this morning, passing the station in single file, first the hunters, then the women and children and pack horses. The procession was two miles long. In their great bufalo hunts we are told they march in two parallel columns of six, eight and ten miles each.

Mar. 10. Resolved that Brother Geo. Requa and Sarah Vaill accompany Sister Cleaver to New York. Concluded that as Sarah is a discreet youth and one with whom Sister Cleaver is particularly pleased she would be sufficient unless Sister Cleaver's insanity should increase. In that case, Bro. Requa will if possible obtain other help.

Mar. 31. It is pleasing to record the labor done by the Indian girls at school, and the women and children who occasionally call upon us or who tarry at the Indian house. The number of bed quilts made by them is nine, besides nearly as much labor on shirts and other articles. The female part of the nation incline to be industrious, while the men and boys are emphatically indolent.

April 15. Br. Palmer, in company with Br. Chapman and the interpreter, goes to the village to visit several sick people. Several travelers call upon us in distress for want of bread, but could not afford them a complete supply. Moi-neh-per-sha begins to labor in the field.

April 17. Four Indians labor yesterday and then today. Moi-neh-per-sha says that when the people of the town hear this they will lay their hand upon their mouth.

April 29. Talked with Wah-kos-itah, a respectable Osage who has labored for us for several days. He says he came to visit us to see the ways of the white people. He never knew so much of their manner before and should return to his people pleased and give a good report concerning us.

May 28. Showed Clamore our various improvements, the different parts of the mills and their appropriate uses, the spring house, the lime kiln and the plantation generally. He seemed pleased and surprised. He said he could now comprehend the nature of our business more perfectly than ever before. He began to think now that he should live to see the full accomplishment of our wishes. He believed that his children, when they should see and understand the use of these things, would adopt our habits. He said, "Don't be discouraged my son, my people will soon see the superior advantages of your way of living."

May 31. We are happy to state that we now have 12 Indian children under our care, eleven in the school, one learning the blacksmith trade, and five families residing near to labor with us. From two to six Indian girls and women not otherwise

connected with us have for several months past been laboring at the various branches of domestic business. From three to fifteen men and boys have been employed at a time in the fields and some are asking very interesting questions concerning our God and religion.

June 6. Succeeded admirably in teaching the Indian women and girls how to card, spin, sew, wash, etc. Pay them as well as the boys a paper currency which we redeem with articles from our warehouse in order to teach them the use of a circulating medium.

June 26. The mill house timber is all on the site. Laborers now begin to fail for want of bread. We used the last of our old stock of flour and corn five weeks ago. Since that time we have depended principally on beef and milk.

Br. Vaill, the agent and interpreter, returned from the village (Aug. 14) after three days absence. The visit was designed to receive an answer to the question: "Will you take the criminal to the fort?" To this the answer was in the affirmative. The usual manner of holding council is this: Their chiefs and warriors are called together and each one consulted particularly, when all have opportunity to speak. They are then called together in final council. The principal chief makes a speech and then sends a man who seems to be the reporter to speak privately to some of the principal men. He gives the voice of the whole assembly, no one objecting. What they decide is publicly declared by the chief as the decision of the whole. In this way they decided, first to take the man to the fort; second to start in three days.

Have been troubled of late by the pilfering habit of the Indians. Brought home several articles from the village which, through the promptings of Clamore, were recovered from a woman who has lately been here. Recommended to have the woman punished to deter others. But the chief said: "No, that is not our way, but to take back the stolen property."

Lord's Day, Aug. 17. The chiefs and warriors amounting to 200 arrived today with the criminal on their way to the fort. All the chiefs and some of the principal men ate at our table. This evening the young men sang and danced. Painful contrast between this exercise and the Sabbath evening conference usually attended by Christians where Jesus is in their midst.

Aug. 18. The whole company moved forward toward the fort. The young man who caused this trouble is as free from bonds as any of them. They depend on his word that he will go. The chiefs have no authority to confine or punish any criminal.

Aug. 22. Tally and others return this way and state that the prisoner had escaped and that they had relinquished the idea of going to the fort. They were camped for the night on Green Leaf Creek, when the prisoner rode off and left them.

Br. Palmer and Sister Johnson were this evening united in marriage. The ceremony was performed in the presence of family, laborers and all the Indians present, who manifested great interest in seeing a Christian marriage.

Aug. 25. Poh-hunk-sheh, one of the best Indians we supposed in town has taken away his two children Philip and Margaret. Stephen who is a connection of the same family, has put on his blanket and leggins again and shaved his head. The school is thus reduced from 13 to 10.

Sept. 22. Moi-neh-per-sha, an Osage chief, with a few other Indians and some Frenchmen who have Osage wives, have signified a wish to adopt our habits in building houses and cultivating the lands; therefore resolved:

That Brother Chapman and Brother Requa be appointed to live among them and aid them in their business by kind influence and Christian example; as this will

probably facilitate the study of the language and afford the best opportunity for communicating religious instruction; in aiding the Indians in this settlement we avoid additional expense on the Board; that we lend those who attempt to form a settlement ploughs and such utensils as they need; that as soon as they are ready to go forward, Bro. Chapman enter upon the duties of the above appointment. (This was the starting of the Hopefield settlement.)

Nov. 11. Stephen declines laboring any more at the blacksmith trade and says his wish is to learn to read and write. Stephen and Robert both signified their willingness to go to the east to finish their education, and had we an offer from the Board, we should think it best to send them soon that they might be far removed from the influence of their relatives.

Dec. 1, 1823. Brethren Chapman and Requa commenced the Indian Settlement (Hopefield) about four miles north of this on the opposite side of the river, having first sought the blessing of God on the attempt.

Dec. 10. Mr. Chouteau now owns the establishment formerly occupied by Messrs. Barber and Brand near the falls of the Verdigris, about four miles above its entrance into the Arkansas and 22 miles from this place.

Dec. 22. Bro. George Requa returned from New York. On the first day of November last he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah T. Clapp, of Cincinnati.

Progress Made in 1824.

The war with the Cherokees which again threatened the destruction of the Osage tribe, was happily terminated through the intervention of the national government, which heretofore had made little effort to prevent inter-tribal wars. The establishment of Cantonment Gibson near the junction of Grand river with the Arkansas had a pacifying effect on the Indians and rendered more secure the situations at the mission. The establishment of the agricultural settlement at Hopefield marked a decided step forward in the work of the mission; and the formation of civil government among the Indians gave evidence that a ray of light as to the value of civilized ways, was dawning upon them. These steps forward were indicative.

The establishment of Cantonment Gibson was a source of much satisfaction to the mission. Rev. Vaill wrote this about it: (26)

"The events which have transpired during the past month, in relation to the removal of the garrison, are truly interesting to us at Union. Great has been the change in our prospects as well as feelings since last December, when we had reason to apprehend an immediate rupture between our government and the Osages, and the consequent breaking up of the mission, with the suspension, if not the entire termination of our usefulness. Our fears were then greater than we disclosed to the public. But Jehovah, the Saviour, has been better to us than our fears. Having obtained help of God, we continue in our work. We have never been more prospered than since this dark cloud arose."

Another event of 1824 that inured to the benefit of the mission

26. Vaill to Domestic Secretary, Union May 15, 1824; A.M.R., Aug. 1824 p. 230.

was the establishment of a form of civil government by the Osages. Prior to that time, the tribe had no code of laws, and almost no form of government. The chiefs were at the head of their respective bands, but they had little authority. All matters of import concerning the band or the tribe were decided by a council of the chiefs, headmen and warriors, the observance of the decision being mostly a matter of honor. The missionaries had no direct hand in the formation of this first form of government among their red neighbors, but their strong timely suggestions and w^cl planted seeds had prepared the way. They claimed no particular credit, nor has any writer given them any credit for this praiseworthy forward movement, but it might have been long delayed had they not been there and played their part. Rev. Vaill wrote this about it: (27)

"It was suggested to the agent that the present was a favorable opportunity to lead their minds to form some civil laws, especially as they had at times great trouble in procuring and returning stolen horses, etc. The thing met the favorable reception of the agent and the Col. and they agreed to proceed to the camp for this purpose. We have since heard a pleasing account of the result. That the chiefs were highly pleased with the measure proposed to them and they entered into it with animation. Thirteen persons were appointed to constitute a national council. This number embraced most of the nominal chiefs and some respectable men besides. Of this body Clamore is president. Tally is to officiate if present, in his absence. Forty of the best warriors (or rather the best men who are warriors) were chosen a national guard whose officers are a captain and two sentinels. The duty of the council is to legislate and decide on all important questions, and the duty of the guard is to put into immediate execution these decisions. We understand that medals are to be given to those who are faithful but if any soldier is delinquent in duty he is to be immediately deposed and another appointed and honored. This may be considered the first step towards civil government in a nation hitherto lawless to an extreme."

Another event of this year, the surrender of the Osages who had killed some white men, to the officers at Ft. Gibson, was an innovation, representing an entire change in the policy of the Osages. The missionaries neither claimed nor received any credit for this event, but it is easy to believe this swing towards civilization was a germination of some of the seed sown by the advocates of Christianity. It is notable that the chiefs requested Rev. Vaill to accompany them to the fort. Rev. Vaill gives this interesting account of the surrender: (28)

Union, June 11, 1824.

"I shall never regret the pains which I have taken to be present at the council which has just been held at the new garrison, the most interesting which, perhaps, was ever held in the Indian country. The 8th inst. was appointed for the surrender of those criminals who had killed the whites, to Col. Arbuckle, for trial. The chiefs having requested me to be present on the occasion, I went with cheerfulness, yet with doubts and fears respecting any good results of the interview. So new and so

27. Union Mission Journal July, 31, 1824.

28. Vaill to Domestic Secretary, June 11, 1824; A.M.R., Oct. 1824, p. 391.

strange would it be for the Osage chiefs to deliver their men to be tried for their lives. They had attempted last year, to take a murderer to the fort, a young man, for killing a Cherokee, and had not been able to do it. How then could they surrender six or seven of their warriors? What power had the chiefs to do this? And who ever heard of criminals giving themselves up? All that we knew concerning the ways of these Indians led us to fear that when the day to resign themselves arrived, the delinquents would shrink back and be missing. But God, who has all hearts in his hands, ordered it in a different manner.

"It is to be kept in mind, that among Indians, the leaders of a war party are accountable for all the mischief done by the party. They conduct the campaign, and give the orders, although they do not fire a gun. If therefore, innocent blood be shed, the leaders are considered as the criminals. The leaders, in the late affair, were of course demanded. At the head of these was the noted Mad Buffalo, who sent his war club to New York. I mention his name with more regret, as he had so lately resigned into our hands his insignia belli. It would lengthen my journal to give a full account of the superstitious mistakes, and deep delusions, by which he was led to the lamentable deed. Suffice it to say that he and others had lost relatives; that it is considered wrong by them to cease mourning until they have slain, or caused to be slain, some of their enemies; that they had just made an unsuccessful campaign against the Pawnees; that they were likely to return without avenging the names of their deceased; and consequently that they could not put off the tokens of mourning, and put on the signs of gladness; or, in other words, could not shave and paint their heads, till they had destroyed some of their fellow mortals. This led the deluded party to determine to sacrifice the first human beings which should fall in their way, and this happened to be a camp of Americans.

"Of this war-party Mad Buffalo was prime leader. There were several others called leaders, and a large number of young men in the party. Their leaders, like all warriors, are men of renown, heads of bands, and much respected among the people. It was the universal opinion that they would not submit themselves to trial.

"On the 7th, the whole town, to the number of 4000, had encamped at the falls of the Verdigris, four miles from the Fort. At 12 o'clock on the 8th, no Indians had arrived. The Col. was in doubt as to what they desired to do. He had thrown up a breast-work of wood, enclosing the encampment and stores. He had made preparations to meet them provided they came with hostile intentions.

"About one o'clock it was announced that four hundred warriors were approaching. They forded the river half a mile above the Fort and halted at a little distance in most perfect order. Many of them brought their guns, bows and arrows, and tomahawks, which was said to be unusual when they met in council. Indeed I could perceive some signs of fear in those around me in the Fort. The Col. invited Clamore and the other chiefs to an interview. The old Chief came forward in complete American dress, with the sash from his friend, Mr. Little, of New York, around his waist. His shirt was of fine linen, and ruffled. Coat and pantaloons of fine blue, formerly worn, perhaps, by some officer of distinction at Washington. Clamore is naturally a stately Indian, of about six feet in height, and his towering pink plume, rising above his hat, gave him a noble appearance. Instead of a sword, he carried in his hand his magnificent pipe. This was the first time I had seen the old Chief thus habited; and the moment I saw him in this attire, I felt a secret impression that something was to be done, honourable to himself and happy to the nation. He seemed to feel his dignity, and when I took him by the hand, I perceived that he was friendly, and was thinking to do right. I love Clamore, and believe he loves and respects our countrymen. He certainly has had many advantages above the bulk of the nation, and has a mind of great penetration. It has been said that he sometimes acts a double part for the sake of popularity; and that he has secretly opposed

the reformation of his people through the instrumentality of the Mission. Be it as it may, his conduct on the memorable occasion before us, which is in perfect coincidence with all his public declarations, evinces a disposition to do the thing that is best for his nation.

"There were present two good interpreters, viz. Mr. Williams and Francis Mogre. The Colonel opened the talk by stating that he was ready to receive these men who were leaders of the party that killed the whites. To this Clamore replied, that his people wished to have these people tried by the commanding officer at this place. The Col. then fully explained to him his incompetency to try men for a trespass against the civil government; the tenor of our laws; the nature of the trial; the way in which it would proceed; and the care which would be taken to come at the truth, and to do justice. He also gave assurance, that the men should be conducted in safety to Little Rock, the seat of justice for this territory. This satisfied the chiefs, and led them to request the Col. to repeat the same talk in the hearing of all the people. They then retired, and the old Chief harangued his people for twenty minutes, repeating the talk he had heard, and making promises to the unhappy men that their families should be provided for. Thus the scene became more and more interesting to the anxious spectators.

"A large council circle was formed and the criminals were seated in the centre. The Col. then repeated in the ears of the criminals the explanations and assurances already given; and a scene followed, as feeling as it was surprising. Six Indian warriors, possessed of all the greatness of Roman generals, resigned themselves, with more than Roman firmness, into the hands of our government, to be tried for their lives. Mad Buffalo, in full American uniform, first arose, and taking each of us by the hand, thus addressed the commanding officers: 'American Chief, it was by accident that those white people were killed. But at your word, I will go to answer for this offense.' His voice was a little agitated, but full. His countenance, naturally fierce and savage, was now bold and firm. As he closed, the Counsellors and Fathers round the circle, in very mild accents, pronounced what he said to be right. The second then arose and said, 'Chief, I have never wished to kill white men; no, when they came to my town, I have, with pleasure, fed them. But since you wish me to go and answer for this affair, I will go.' Another arose and said, 'My great father, I have lived in peace till you see my head is full of gray hairs, and now they are covered with sorrow. At your word, I will go.' To each the old Counsellors responded a note of approbation, which bespoke the unanimity of the nation in the measure. There were present also delegates from the people of White Hair's village, the Little Osages, and Shungeh-Moinch's town, to testify their satisfaction in having the criminals given up; and two of them came forward and addressed 'the Col. to that effect.

"Here, Sir, was a scene deeply affecting my feelings. It almost overcame me. I said, is it possible? Have these men, who never read a sylable of true greatness, a magnanimity so great? Are their savage minds capable of honour? I may say with confidence, that no one saw on that day a malicious look in an Osage."

That scene marked one triumph for the missionaries. While they stood in the background, much of the credit was theirs. It also marked the beginning of the end of a very bad traditional habit or custom of the Osages.

These two extracts from the Mission Journal for 1824, are instructive:

June 12. Claremore has lost a son. He was providentially killed in an Indian race which took place yesterday. Having finished their business, the young men entered

on their diversion to please the officers. In these races they are presented with a piece of valuable cloth which is taken by some one who bears it away on horseback, extended by the length of his arm from his body. A number of young men contend for it until some one more fleet than the rest is able to bear it beyond the limits and they yield the point. The horses of course run full speed in every direction and not unfrequently do they strike each other and fall. In the above event, two horses met and Claremore's son was thrown to the earth with such violence as to cause his death in a short time. It may be interesting to know that according to the Indian practice the young man on the other horse, who innocently occasioned his death must be precipitated into the other world at the same time, to use the Indian phraseology, "to keep the deceased company," had he not been able to pay some two or three horses to Claremore and procure a youth for him to adopt as his son in the room of the deceased. What is more Claremore thought of asking Co. Arbuckle some compensation for his loss of his son because his officers made the present that occasioned the race in which his son was killed.

Sept. 8. Tally still insists on killing some of the Pawnees to avenge the death of his daughter, who was called away a few weeks since in the usual course of Providence. As he was leaving, we said, "Do you indeed wish to kill the Pawnees?" He replied, "Pawnees! The Pawnees to kill I desire." We told him God would be angry. They are our brothers and our children. If you kill them we shall be grieved. To this he listened attentively and seriously replied, "ako, aka," it is so. But he turned to another Indian who stood by and explained to him the discourse and smiled as though this doctrine would not do for Indians.

Death of Reverend Chapman.

One of the saddest events in the history of the Union Mission was the death of Rev. Epaphras Chapman on January 7, 1825. He was really the organizer of the mission family, had piloted it to its far western home, was assistant superintendent at Union and the leading spirit at both Union and Hopefield. In a sense he might be called the founder of each. He had labored hard and long to acquire mastery of the Osage language, and just when he had become proficient enough to speak to the Indians in thier own tongue, death called him hence. Pelham letter No. XVI gave this account of his death: (29)

Dear Cousins,—I must commence this narrative of missionary events for the year of 1825 with a most melancholy topic. The Rev. Mr. Chapman's health had failed considerably before the middle of December, and he made a journey to Neosho, hoping the ride would prove beneficial; but the weather was stormy and his illness rather increased, so that when he reached Mr. Pixley's he was hardly able to sit up. After resting a few days, finding himself sinking, he felt anxious to hasten home, but it was with the utmost difficulty he performed the journey; his mind evidently began to wander, and the evening he arrived at Hopefield he was scarcely able to stand alone. However the next day he was so urgent to visit Union that Mrs. Chapman accompanied him. He expressed pleasure at meeting the family, told them his head was much disordered, and he felt sick, and had done his utmost to come to be nursed.

His countenance betrayed his illness, and the derangement of his mind. Two days after, on the Sabbath, he attended the religious exercises of the family, but could only read a little and pronounce a blessing. In the evening he appeared quite

29. Tuttle, in Chickasaw and Osage Missions, pp. 114-119.

feeble, but sat up in bed and conversed upon the concerns of the mission with much apparent interest. When all the brethren gathered around his bed for evening prayers, it was acknowledged to be the most solemn season that had ever been experienced at Union.

After this he failed fast, his fever assuming the typhus form, and his mind, seldom clear, yet even in his wanderings his thoughts evidently ran upon the kingdom of Christ, and he seemed still anxious for its advancement. He continued until the evening of January 7, when he breathed his last, and it is fully believed received an abundant entrance into the land of bliss. The mission bowed low under this painful bereavement, and with many tears consigned the remains of him whom we loved to the silent tomb, with the assured hope of his happy immortality.

The loss sustained by the death of this intelligent and indefatigable missionary can never be estimated; he had persevered in his efforts to acquire a competent knowledge of the language of the natives, until his labors were so nearly crowned with success that he could tell them of the wonders of redeeming love in their own tongue, and his little Osage flock at Hopefield had begun to listen with seriousness to the word of life.

Report For 1825.

The report of Rev. Vaill, superintendent of Union Mission, to the secretary of war, show that the number of persons belonging to the mission family in October 1825 was 28, of whom 17 were adults. The number of pupils in the school was 27. of these, six were full-blooded Osages, 14 descendants from French fathers and Osage mothers; and seven from Osage mothers with fathers of various nations—Spanish, Dutch, Kickapoo and Sioux. Twelve read the English testament and write a handsome hand. Several are studying arithmetic and grammar.
(30)

An important event of this year was the missionary convention at Union in November, at which three persons were licensed to preach, two of whom were quite active in missionary work for several years thereafter. This report of the meeting is from the *Missionary Herald*:
(31)

Present—Messrs. Vaill and Palmer, from Union; Messrs. Dodge and Belcher, from Harmony; and Messrs. Washburn and Hitchcock, from Dwight, a station under the care of the Board of Foreign Missions (in the Cherokee nation). In a letter to the U. F. M. S., written in November, Mr. Vaill thus speaks of a part of the proceedings:

"The convention opened on Monday, the 7th inst. Thursday was a day of peculiar interest. The convention having resolved itself into an ecclesiastical council, proceeded to examine Brother Palmer and Brother Jones and Nicholas, the colored man, who had committed themselves to this body for advice and direction upon the subject of preaching the gospel, and after prayerful deliberation it was thought best to give each of them a license to preach the word. To this step we seemed to be called by providence. Nicholas is, we trust, designed in the hands of God for Africa. There is a prospect of him being sent by the American Colonization Society.

30. *Missionary Herald*, April 1826, p. 116.

31. Rev. Vaill to Domestic Sec.; *Missionary Herald*, April 1826, p. 117.

Messrs. Palmer and Jones are both licensed under the restriction of being advised and directed for a year by their elders. The council proceeded to recommend to their respective churches the forming of a Presbytery at the next annual meeting of the Missionary Convention at Dwight.

Among the resolutions adopted by this convention were the following: That it is the duty of this convention to address the Domestic Missionary Societies and Bible Societies at the east, on the spiritual wants of the white settlements of Arkansas and Missouri.

"That this convention regard the settlement of Indians at Hopefield as exhibiting great ground for encouragement, both as it respects the civilization of the Osages, and as an opening for the successful communication of the word of life, and that we feel ourselves called upon to express our devout thanksgiving to God for the smiles of providence upon the settlement."

Fateful Events.

That same government which had given much moral and monetary support to the Union Mission, began, about the beginning of 1825, a policy that ultimately caused its closing. It is true the policy was a wide one, embracing several tribes and a large territory, and was intended wholly for the betterment of the Indians, but the effects were none the less depressing to the Osage Missions. The plan to move the eastern tribes to the west, called for a restriction on the territory of the Osages to make room for the immigrants. No one of the missionaries was consulted, or invited to take a hand in the movement. Neither was it the intention of the government to do the missions any harm, but their minor importance had to give way to larger considerations. It is true that the missions were recognized and favored in the treaty of 1825, but that treaty so restricted the Osage domain as to leave Union as well as Harmony without its bounds.

Early in the year of 1825, months before the treaty was made, the government began efforts to move the Osages from the Union district to a new location farther up the river. Two entries in the Mission Journal contain information on this subject: (32)

Jan. 18. Alexander McNair Esq., for the last four years governor of Missouri, now agent for all the Osage nation, arrived this evening, in company with Mr. Legas Chouteau, sub-agent, Paul, the interpreter, and others. The agent has come with instructions to remove the Indians residing on the Verdigris to the Neosho or Grand river. The design appears to be to collect together the people of the respective villages, give more permanency to their residence, render the inspection and management of them more practicable for one agent and prevent their doing mischief. As it is a governmental act we feel no liberty to remonstrate; at the same time we have ventured to reason a little and show that this measure will produce more evil than it will remedy, as it will carry the Indians farther from their hunting ground when they become lawless in proportion to their distance from home; that it will

distress them in regard to the means of living and that the surest way to reform the nation would be to encourage their settling down on snug plantations, offering them proper assistance. This removal, should it take place, will locate the whole nation about midway between the two missionary stations sixty or seventy miles from either.

Jan. 29. Brs. Vaill and Palmer and Brs. from Harmony have spent most of the week at Cantonment Gibson attending the great national council. The chiefs of nearly every village have been present, and the agent has opened to them his commission from the U. S. Gov't., and given the instructions and wishes of their father, the President, for them to become more compact in their manner of living, and particularly for the Arkansas and Verdigris Osages to remove to the Neosho near the White Hair Indians, who have resided on this river for the most of two years past. It became a very trying question and required much deliberation on the part of the chiefs to give an answer aright. They concluded however to answer in the affirmative that they would move; at the same time begging the indulgence of Gov't., while they planted corn once more on their old spot. This was cheerfully granted."

On July 29th, Rev. Vaill wrote that:

"The Osage country has been sold to the government of the United States, and agents are now upon the ground, employed in surveying the lands and dividing the country into districts, which are to be occupied by different Indian tribes, agreeably to the plan of the government to colonize the Indians." (33)

The depressing effects of this new governmental policy did not become apparent until several months later, but just the same they marked the beginning of the end of the mission. The distance, thus created, with their mode of travel, was too much to overcome. Other factors contributed, but this one predominated. The relation of the treaty to the missions is more fully treated elsewhere.

Rev. Vaill, with his penetrating mind, sought to forestall the doom of his cherished mission by advancing two ideas or plans that no doubt would have proven successful, could he have received the proper cooperation. However, the attention of the government was so occupied with the larger problems that the small mission could attract very little attention, and his plans were never realized. Of his plans, the *Missionary Register* said: (34)

"Union will be nearly in the center of the country destined for the future residence of the southern Indians, and will derive very great importance from this location. 'It is understood,' Mr. Vaill says, 'and is probably true, that a reservation will be made of a tract two miles square for the accommodation of the existing Osage Missions.' This tract will be large enough for the purpose of agriculture, and for many years at least for live stock. If a large central establishment is thus permanently supported, it will be easy to form branch institutions intimately connected with it, and extending into every part of the territory."

33. Vaill to Lewis, sec. of U.F.M.S., July 29, 1825; A.M.R., Oct. 1825, p. 302

34. A.M.R., Oct. 1825, p. 302.

Mr. Vaill's second proposition was the establishment of a high school for the children of the missionaries and the more advanced Indian youth, and likewise for preparing pious young men for missionary work. Later he proposed that it be made into an intertribal school, to which children of other tribes would be admitted on the same basis as those of the Osages. These changes he believed would enable the school to continue at Union which now became adjacent to the boundary lines of several tribes.

Agent McNary gave his approval to the high school idea, (35) but it did not become effective. The inter-tribal idea was later put into effect in a limited way, but did not prove sufficiently successful to justify its continuance.

Missionary Societies Merge.

At the session of the 16th annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, held in Northampton, Mass., September 21, 1825, a committee from the United Foreign Missionary Society was present and solicited the union of the two organizations. (36) The reasons given were that both societies preach the same gospel, under similar regulations; that both derived their funds from the same source; that the objects and purposes of both being identical; and that economy would result, and duplication be avoided, by their union.

The terms of the union were agreed upon, subject to the ratification of the sponsoring church organizations the following May. The plan was ratified, and the union became effective during 1826, under the name of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was the older and stronger organization. This amalgamation served to strengthen the support given the Osage missions, but did not cause any decided changes in their operations or plans.

Floods and More Wars.

The unruly elements sent floods to add to the troubles made by the unruly Indians. The former destroyed foodstuffs, and the latter spread great uneasiness, even terror, among the Osages that reflected a bad effect on the mission and school. Dr. Palmer tells of these in a letter, dated "Union, Ark. Ter., March 1826: (37)

"On the 6, 7, and 8 of this month the river took a sudden rise from the late rains and reached the height of 7 or 8 feet above any former instance since we arrived in this country. The river bottoms were mostly overflowed and some young cattle and hogs were drowned.

35. *Missionary Herald*, April 1826, p. 117.

36. *A.M.R.*, October 1825, p. 303.

37. *Union Mission Journal*, pp. 269-271.

Friday the 3rd of March was solemnly observed as a day of fasting and prayer, in view of Br. Vaill's proposed journey to New York, in order to implore the blessing of God upon the general interest of the mission, and especially on the dear children and youth committed to our care and instruction. Br. Vaill, his daughter Elizabeth, and Sister Chapman took an affectionate farewell of the family the 20th. It was peculiarly painful parting with Sister Chapman as she did not expect to return to the mission. A day or two before she had grave stones erected over the remains of her deceased husband. They were wrought in plain, neat style with the inscription, "In memory of Epaphas Chapman, who died 7th Jan. 1825. Age 32. First missionary to the Osages. 'Say among the heathen the Lord reigneth.' "

Dr. Palmer follows with a report of his visit to the fort where he learned much about the difficulties Col. Arbuckle was having while trying to prevent war between the Delawares and the Osages, with only partial success.

"At night Br. Palmer lodged at Chouteau's tradinig house, and in the evening the old Chief Claremore came in and entered into a long conversation about his troubles; the amount of which was that in old time he enjoyed good hunting ground, and was afraid of no enemies. But now he had trouble on every hand. He was poor, his hunting ground was occupied by enemies who were strong and threatened to destroy him, and he knew not what to do or which way to turn. At the close of the conversation he raised his eyes and hands toward heaven and in a reverential manner and apparently with most eloquent show he addressed the Supreme Being imploring protection. He concluded by observing that now he had committed his courage to the Great God who ruled all events and was able to help him. Mr. Chouteau declared that was the first time he ever heard the old chief or any of the Osages address the Supreme Being, and that he believed fear had brought it out of him at last. May not this be considered a proof that his conscience had borne witness to the bible truths he had heard from time to time.

"On the 31st of March the Indian settlers became so much alarmed that they began to pack up their things and go to town, and some of them had already crossed the river when Brs. Palmer and Requa arrived at the settlement to give them Col. Arbuckle's advice. They finally concluded to remain at the settlement, at least till they shall have planted their corn. They were asked if they would join the brethren in prayer to Almighty God for protection, to which they freely assented.

"The Indians in general seem to feel quite satisfied that their children will be safe in the Mission. As proof of this, since the alarm there have been four children brought to the school and none taken away.

On June 1, Dr. Palmer wrote another letter, thus: (38)

"During the month of April the school continued to increase notwithstanding the Indians were most of the time panic struck with fear. The settlers at Hopefield were several times put to flight at a mere shadow. Once they were alarmed at the return of their own hunters, and once by two deserters from Cantonment Gibson whom they took back and received the reward. At the close of April the school had about 50 children, almost all of the late additions having come from Hopefield.

"Last evening Br. Palmer rec'd the Col's. letter to Mounipusha and his men. They concluded to leave Hopefield immediately and join Claremore's tour on a hunt. The news contained in the letter gave them such a shock, notwithstanding their firm confidence and the more positive assurance of Col. Arbuckle that the school was safe, they took most of their children with them. The school now numbers 34 Indian children."

38. Same, pp. 271-2.

American Board's Report for 1827.

The conditions at Union during 1827, are well set forth in this summary report of the American Board in October of that year: (39)

Union. After various changes by death and other causes, the following persons now reside there:

Rev. Wm. F. Vaill, missionary and superintendent, and Mrs. Vaill.

Mr. George Requa, steward.

Mr. Abraham Redfield, carpenter, and Mrs. Redfield.

Mr. Alexander Woodruff, blacksmith, and wife.

Mr. George Douglass, farmer.

Miss Elizabeth Shelden.

Mr. Stephen Fuller and his family have been released from the mission, at their request, and have settled in the vicinity. Mr. Fuller is a farmer.

This station is far removed into the western wilderness, within 400 miles of the foot of the Rocky Mountains. It is probably 200 miles further from Boston to Union in a straight line, than from Union to the Gulf of California.

As the Osages were entirely unacquainted with civilization when the mission first commenced, it could not be expected that the advance of knowledge among them should be rapid. The first thing to be provided by the missionaries was a shelter; the second, the clearing of some land for cultivation; the third, the formation of a school by the reception of Osage children. This process was begun, and has been carried forward with much labor and patience, and in the midst of many cares and interruptions, much sickness and repeated instances of death.

In the spring of 1826, Mr. Vaill, having first obtained permission from the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, returned to New England and New York. He spent the summer in recruiting his health, which had been sensibly impaired; in visiting many towns in Connecticut as an agent, and preaching on the subject of missions. It seems no more than proper to say that Mr. Vaill, after having known what missionary service is, often in very discouraging circumstances, uniformly manifested during his visit, a warm devotion to the cause, and an anxious desire to see the gospel carried into every part of our continent. He left New York in December, accompanied by a daughter who had been two years in Connecticut for her education, and by Miss Selden, a sister of Mrs. Vaill. On his way he made stops and preached at each of the following places; viz: Philadelphia, Chambersburg, Pittsburgh, Marietta, Cincinnati, and Louisville, and was everywhere received with great cordiality and kindness. Availing himself of a steamboat which ascended the Arkansas to the mouth of the Neosho, he reached his station about the close of April, after an absence of eighteen months. This period had been a season of great affliction to the family. Sickness had prevailed. Mrs. Requa, an excellent helper in the missionary work, died in August, soon after the death of one of her children; and, in the next month, the youngest child of Mr. Vaill was also removed. The natives had been in a state of alarm from an apprehension of war, and a sweeping inundation had borne away the labors of the mission, and of the Little Osage settlement.

The farm consists of about 140 acres of ploughed land, of which 47 acres are in the river bottom. In the summer of 1825, the produce was 900 bushels of wheat and 1600 of corn. The fields were well fenced until laid waste by the floods of last year. The loss of the mission from the flood, in corn, live stock, fences, etc., was estimated at two thousand dollars.

The School.

The school was commenced at as early a period of the mission as was practicable. The number of children at first was small. In 1824, there were 22 pupils; in the following year, 35; in March 1826, the number was 40, and two months afterwards it had risen to 50. About this time, many of the parents who had children in the school, having been first alarmed by a fear of the Cherokees, and then by a more distressing dread of the Delawares and Piankashaws, concluded, as the only means of safety, to betake themselves to the great western prairies. When doing this, they were not willing to leave their children behind, and the school was suddenly reduced to 20. They did not appear to distrust the missionaries, but they were afraid that their enemies would come suddenly and take vengeance on any of the tribe, young or old, who might be found. It would appear that their terrors have in some measure subsided, for, in the beginning of July last, the number of children in the school was 40. Mr. Vaill himself had them in the charge of instruction.

Influenza.

In May, a severe influenza prevailed, by which the whole family was visited, and which prevented the prosecution of the accustomed duties. In August, a remittent bilious fever, of a very dangerous type, had a general course through the family. Scarcely an individual escaped. Dr. Palmer happily recovered from his attack before the rest were seized. All labor and teaching were suspended. There was no public worship on the Sabbath. The sick could not receive proper attention, and it was even difficult to find anyone who could pray with them. Mr. Vaill, on his return, expressed the opinion that, although there had been such a succession of calamities, not one had been occasioned or augmented by his absence, and that no persons could have managed things more discreetly under such circumstances, than Dr. Palmer and his associates had done.

Besides the disasters above mentioned, the annoyance of the prairie flies, one of the plagues of the country, was worse than in any previous season. To horses this insect is an intolerable evil. Besides losing several of these noble animals, the mission was deprived of milk during the whole summer of 1826, and the following winter, in consequence of the cows betaking themselves with their calves to the forests. This was the only way in which they could have avoided destruction by the fly.

Death of Clarmore, or Clermont.

Clarmore (Clermont or Claremore), who had long been an enigma to the mission died in May 1828. He always had pretended to be a friend of the mission, yet he had refused to send his children to the school or do anything for its promotion, and because of his position, this attitude and example served as a real handicap. He promised much but procrastinated until the end. His favorable attitude could have wrought great changes in the results of the mission, while his friendly indifference was like a wet blanket on its progress. It cannot be said that his successor was better.

The report of the American Board for 1828 said: (40)

"Clamore, who was for twenty or thirty years the chief of this part of the nation, died last May. He was one of the company of Indians which was sent through the country as far as Boston at the public expense, during the early part of Jefferson's administration. He is described by Mr. Vaill as being a man of noble countenance

40. Same, October 1828, pp. 90-93.

and stately figure, of robust constitution and vigorous intellectual powers. He was accustomed to boast that he had never been at war with the whites; and he could have said, with almost equal truth, that he had never been at peace with the neighboring tribes. He was a jealous, subtle man—a wiley intriguing politician, and a most eloquent speaker. He always respected the missionaries, but never favored the cause in which they were engaged. After giving these outlines of his character, Mr. Vaill adds: 'I can truly say that notwithstanding his failings, such was the greatness of his mind, and such his friendship for the whites, that all who were intimately acquainted with him, respected him when living, and lamented his death.'

Report of 1828.

New difficulties are emphasized by this report. Government treaties with the Indians had brought changed conditions at the mission that seriously threatened its future usefulness. The report said: (40)

"The western boundary of the Arkansas Territory was, till the late treaty, two miles west of Union; it is now 38 miles east. Of course Union falls into the territory newly acquired by the Cherokees, as stipulated in the treaty of May last; and although it cannot be a station for the Osages particularly, it may be useful, with the consent of the Cherokees, to several Indian tribes, at least for the present."

"Stationed at Union now are: Rev. Wm. F. Vaill and wife; Dr. George L. Weed, physician, and wife; George Requa and wife; Abraham Redfield and wife. The removal of Dr. Weed and Dr. Palmer has already been mentioned. Mr. and Mrs. Woodruff ceased to be connected with the mission in May last. They still reside at the station and are disposed to render assistance as far as they are able. Mr. Douglass, who had been previously married to Miss Selden, thought it expedient to leave the mission. He is now settled as a farmer about four miles from Union.

"The only Osages near this station are those at Hopefield, five miles distant; a few at the Grand Saline, 15 miles distant; and that part of the tribe which is called Clamore's village, and which contains 2000 souls. This large collection of Osages is 25 miles distant. All these settlements are on land ceded to the United States by the treaty of 1825; but as the people of Clamore's village are unwilling to move, it is probable that some arrangement may be made which will save them from that necessity.

"There is little opportunity for preaching the gospel, except at Hopefield, though Mr. Vaill has occasionally preached at the other two places. The Osages are totally destitute of religious knowledge, and of thought on religious subjects. At first they treat the gospel with levity, and so far as the experience of this mission warrants any inferences, the work of bringing them to an acquaintance with divine truth must be long and arduous. None of the natives have as yet given satisfactory evidence of piety, and very few manifest any disposition to inquire respecting Christianity. The congregation on the Sabbath is composed of those who reside at this place, and of a few white families who are settled in the vicinity. Besides the Osages, there, (including the troops at Fort Gibson) 500 whites and 750 Creek Indians, lately removed from the Verdigris, all within 25 miles of Union.

The Osage treaty of 1825 had lifted Union out of the Osage domain and placed it on neutral ground, but the treaty of 1828 boldly set it far within the Cherokee country where it was doomed as an Osage

mission. Fortunately, the Cherokees, who had been more friendly to the missions than the Osages, did not demand the removal of the Union, but displayed a friendly spirit by sending their children to the school in such numbers that ere long they exceeded the dwindling number of Osages in attendance. The Cherokees, however, had Dwight and other schools in their own country so that the number attending Union was never large enough to justify its continuance. Even the admission of the Creek children did not long stay its approaching end.

Under such circumstances as stated above, it is not difficult to see why the missionaries made such slow progress in introducing Christianity to the Osages. The unsettled condition of the country and of the tribe made contacts too infrequent and difficult to be effective even if the Osages had been receptive instead of combative.

Report or 1829.

Rev. Vaill's report to the secretary of war for 1829 gives this information: (41)

The Indian school at Union consists of 45 children. Of these, 26 are Osages, 17 are Creeks and 2 are Cherokees. One is advanced to be an interpreter. Ten read in the English reader, write a fair hand, and study arithmetic and geography. Five read in the New Testament. Three read in easy lessons, the rest in words of one or two syllables. All boarding at the mission.

The amount of property belonging to the mission, including Hopefield, is estimated at 17,158 dollars. Amount expended, including Hopefield, 4,744.09; amount of receipts, 4,428.23; deficiency, \$15.86.

The expenses of the two last years have been nearly doubled in consequence of building. In that time we have put up four dwelling houses and a dining hall. The following is a list of the frame buildings at this place: Mill, large and valuable, barn, school house, store, wash house, dining hall and men's room, besides a stone spring house.

Our opportunity for general usefulness is much wider since the late treaty with the Indians. Their removal brings round us three different tribes. The Osages who yet remain, the Creeks, and the Cherokees, each about the same convenient distance from the mission. There are now members of the school from each of these tribes, and our labors in preaching the gospel are already extended to each in a degree. The advantages of a central school in this corner of the three tribes, it is conceived, will be very great in harmonizing their feelings and views. It is our aim to second the measures of the government in regard to the Indians, and we feel happy in the present administration, believing that their policy will be that of humanity and benevolence beyond all that has preceded.

There has not been a death of a member of our school at this place since we opened the school.

41. Photostat copy of letter of Vaill to Hon. J. H. Eaton, dated Union, Sept. 30, 1829. Original in Archives of Department of Interior, Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C. Photostat in possession of W. W. Graves, St. Paul, Kas.

The past season has been favorable for our crops; our farm produces 2000 bushels of corn and we have gathered into the granery 400 bushels of wheat.

During the past year we have had alarms of war as usual, but they have arisen from another source, that is fear of the Pawnees and other western tribes.

Osages Continue Warlike.

The Osages in the big village on the Verdigris were reluctant to move north, and, since there was no contest for the land they occupied, the government made no particular effort to force the removal. Only a few of them had gone to the Neosho in 1830. Those who remained were just as reluctant about receiving Christianity as they were about moving. The Osages, at the solicitation of the government, had made peace with their eastern neighbors, the Cherokees, but they still maintained a warlike disposition towards the Pawnees and other western tribes. The matter of religious contacts with them continued to be a problem.

The *Missionary Herald*, in its summary of the reports of the missionaries for 1830, said: (42)

"Lately Mr. Montgomery has given himself more time to visit the great Osage village and preach to them the gospel of salvation as the only relief to their troubled minds. I hope he will be successful. But there has not been, to our knowledge, any serious impression made on the minds of the Osages to this day. Some have no doubt gained the conviction that ours is the true religion. This appears to be the case with the Hopefield settlers. But as a body, they are bent on war, and still cleave to war and hunting as their employment. War schemes and war operations, we know, will never dispose the mind even to listen to the gospel. In one of my visits to them last fall, I found many weeping and mourning, and crying vehemently, on account of the destruction of six or seven of their family connections. The slain were all the relatives of Tally, the second chief, and had been cut off a little before by a Red River party, while sitting peacefully in their tents. The party was supposed to be Choctaws avenging themselves for some previous losses by the Osages. It was truly a pitiable sight; and what was more pitiable than all the rest, they were meditating swift and decisive revenge. The great secret of the Osages not receiving the gospel at this time is their unwillingness to relinquish their wars."

Notwithstanding this depressing situation, the missionaries persisted in their efforts to carry on the work for which they had been sent to that country, as shown by this extract from the report of the American Board for 1830: (43)

"Measures have been taken to give religious instruction to the Osages as far as their wandering manner of life and circumstances will permit. During the latter part of the year, Mr. Montgomery, who has resided at Union since the removal of Hopefield station, has frequently visited the great Osage village and spent considerable time there in preaching the gospel. Mr. Vaill also visited them."

42. *Missionary Herald*, Sept. 1830, p. 286.

43. *A.B.C.F.M.* Annual Report for 1830, pp. 87-91.

Preaching to the Greeks.

The 2000 Creek Indians who had emigrated from Georgia between 1827 and the autumn of 1830, and settled twenty miles from Union, on the west side of the Verdigris, had had contacts with Baptists and Methodist missionaries in their former home. Some of them, knowing of the benefits of Christianity, applied to Union for permission to send their children to the school, and also for missionaries. They hankered for what the Osages had been refusing. How pleased would the missionaries have been, if the Osages had shown such a favorable disposition! Naturally they did not neglect this opportunity to spread the gospel.

The *Missionary Herald*, in summarizing Rev. Vaill's report for 1830, said this of the new situation: (44)

"During the last year we have maintained preaching among the Greeks. One of the chiefs invited me among them for the purpose of preaching the gospel to them. His forcible language was this: 'We wish you to come and preach the gospel to us; we consider that we have a right to whatever will improve our nation, and we think the gospel will do it!' This was the address from the young general Chilly McIntosh. Their agent, Col. Brearly, had thought fit to forbid preaching, or any missionary operations in the Creek nation. I was, therefore, led to walk circumspectly, and at length succeeded. I began to preach on the Cherokee side of the line, which was the agency, as it happened, until another agent (Gen. John Campbell) came, who withdrew the restrictions. There has been among them an increasing attention to religious instruction during the year. Although it has prevailed more among the black people, yet several Indians have hopefully embraced the gospel. The whole number among them who are seriously anxious for their soul is more than 100. Half of that number, at least, we hope are true converts. "Though to one at a distance it might seem that the Osages afford a greater field than the Greeks, yet to those on the ground it has appeared that the Greeks were far more prepared to be benefitted by preaching; and the call has been so pressing the season past that Mr. Montgomery has been led to devote a portion of his time to their necessities. It is interesting to state that every visit we make the assemblies are increasing, being rarely less than 100, and often amounting to 200. I can truly say that I have never preached so long where preaching seemed so needful or so useful."

The *Missionary Herald* for January, 1832, tells of a church being organized among the Greeks: (45)

The Greeks "are stately visited and instructed by the missionaries. A church was organized among them in September of last year, embracing thirty members, twenty-five of whom were baptized. Since that time sixteen have been added. Their religious experience seems to be of a remarkably decided character, and their conduct exemplary."

The Creek Indians were so anxious to have a school located in their midst so they could board their children at home, that they made repeated requests of the missionaries at Union to provide such a school

44. *Missionary Herald*, Sept. 1830, p. 286.
45. Same, Jan. 1832, p. 9.

for them. They were showing such interest in civilized affairs that the membership of their church had grown to sixty. Their loud appeal for help brought a ready response from the missionaries. Rev. Vaill wrote this about it in October 1831: (46)

"Near the beginning of our late vacation Mr. Redfield and myself, after consulting with the members of the family, engaged that he should remove and open a school among them, provided they would put up the buildings, provide meat and bread-stuff for his family and no objection should arise from those who direct our movements. We told them that we wished for an answer on their part before the close of vacation. The answer was given by their assembling in a body, collecting the logs for his dwelling, bringing them on their backs, and putting up and covering the building of two rooms. And they are ready to build a school house as soon as they shall have gathered their corn. Accordingly we have advised them not to send back their children to the school, but to wait for the school to be established among them."

Report for 1831.

This summary of the report from Union for 1831 appeared on the *Missionary Herald* for October: (47)

"Sabbath school has been kept here for several years past, which was lately organized on the principles of the National Sabbath School Union, and connected with it. We are expecting a library from Philadelphia.

"The church at this place has been increased by the addition of two—one a Creek young woman, a member of the school; the other a hired girl of color. Both of these have been hopefully converted since their residence here. In a letter dated July, Mr. Vaill mentions that two other persons have been added to the church, of whom one was a Creek.

"A temperance society was formed last winter which now embraces twenty-four members, viz: eleven whites, six Creeks, three Cherokees, three Osages and one African. But it ought to be spoken to the honor of the Osages that they are an old temperance society, on the principle of total abstinence, there having been no drunkards among them till lately some taste a little to comply with the customs of the whites.

"I cannot close this report without again bringing before your notice the deplorable state of the Osages. While they are free from drunkenness and many civilized vices and are still friendly to the whites and their new neighbors, they are every year becoming more poor and wretched, and remain hostile to the preaching of the gospel among them—particularly Clermont's band. At the same time their wars with their western enemies continue with unabated fury. No check or impression has been made upon them, unless the little company at Hopefield form an exception. The seriously hard winter drove them on the Neosho, both above and below the mission, to obtain forage for their horses; and their starving condition induced them to destroy the cattle and hogs of their neighbors in great abundance. The stock belonging to the mission suffered, as well as that of our Cherokee and Creek neighbors, in their depredations."

Union Mission Closes.

The report of the American Board for October 1833 stated:

46. Same, March 1832, p. 80.
47. Same, Oct. 1831, pp. 321-2.

"In January last it was thought expedient to discontinue the school at this station, and as this station, since the change was made in the location of the surrounding tribes by treaties with the United States, is unfavorably situated for a preaching station, or a school of any other character, the property will be disposed of, and the mission family removed to other stations as soon as requisite arrangements can be made." (48)

In 1834, the report of the American Board stated: (49)

"In the last report it was stated that the school at Union had been discontinued; and that, owing to the situation of the place and of the Osages, it would not long be occupied as a mission station for the Osages. The Committee have already decided to use a portion of the buildings and improvements for the accommodation of the families connected with the printing establishment which they intend to set up at that place for printing books and tracts in the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek and Osage languages. The station is central and convenient for such a purpose. The press, fonts of type, and other apparatus will be sent with little delay; and Mr. Worcester and Mr. Boudinot are expected to arrive at that place from the Cherokee country, and take charge of the establishment.

"Mr. Vaill and his wife, on account of the ill health of the latter, have visited their friends in the state of Connecticut during the past summer. They are deeply interested in Christian instruction of the Osages, with whom they have spent about thirteen years of the best portion of their lives; but in view of the present unsettled condition of these Indians, and their own prospect in regard to continuing among them, both they and the Committee have thought it expedient that they should not return to that field again; and they have accordingly been released from further service of the Board. Mr. Montgomery has resided at Union and Hopefield, prosecuting the study of the language, preparing elementary books, and preaching to the Osages at the latter place and at Clermont's town, twenty-five miles distant. Mr. Redfield has also remained at that station, aiding in arranging the secular affairs, and teaching a small school which the Cherokees contemplate opening, to be supported in part by an annuity of their own."

The Union Mission School.

The schools apparently were a secondary consideration when the first plans were made for the Presbyterian missionaries who came to the Osage country in 1820 and 1821, preaching the gospel being their prime object. The sponsors of the movement were not insensitive to the value of schools, but they placed the preaching of Christianity first. However, a careful scrutiny of the information handed down to later generations reveals that practically all of the good that came out of the missionary labors, came from the schools. The adult minds of the Osages busied themselves with the hunt, warring and the following of tribal traditions. Few of them gave ear to the missionary pleadings, and that few manifested a provoking indifference to anything calculated to veer them from the path of the past. It is not recorded that even one adult Osage was converted and admitted to fellowship in the church during the several years of these missionary labors. On the other hand, the pupils of the schools listened with at-

48. A.B.C.F.M. Annual Report, 24th, 1833, pp. 115-120.
49. Same, 25th Annual Report, 1834, p. 117.

tention to the discourses on Christianity, some were enrolled as members of the church, and impressions made on the minds of others that unquestionably influenced their future lives in the right direction. Some of the pupils advanced far enough in education and in knowledge of the English language to qualify them for interpreters and to fill positions above the reach of those who had not had the benefits of schooling. The girls, in addition, had learned to sew and had acquired skill in household affairs. These were not without their influence on future generations. When they left the schools, most of them seemed disposed to lead a settled and industrious course of life, and no doubt some of them persevered.

The early reports of the school are contained in the Union Mission Journal previously quoted, as well as in the reports of the missionaries. The beginning was very slow, but as time passed and some of the opposition of the Osages was overcome, interest increased until it became encouraging, if not fully satisfactory.

The first children entered the school on August 27, 1821, several months after its establishment. Three of the first four belonged to a Frenchman. (50) Others were entered at intervals, but few of them were left there for any considerable time. Parents would withdraw their children on any kind of a flimsy excuse, hence the net gain in enrollment was indeed small and slow. Rev. Vaill, in his report for October 1822, said: (51)

"The whole number of Indian children is seven, all of whom live at our table and are clothed from our store house. The three whom we reported last year are young, yet they have learned to speak the English language with ease. The oldest, who reads in words of two syllables, retains his native tongue, and though only eight years old, occasionally serves as an interpreter."

One year later, Mr. Vaill said this in his report of the school: (52)

"During this year fourteen have been added and nine taken away, which leaves the present number twelve. Of the twelve now in school, nine are half-breeds and three are full blooded. No half-breeds have yet been taken away and, except in one instance, no one has left the school but by the influence of parents and friends. The children would not only come to our school with readiness, but tarry with contentment, if their parents were willing."

War scares and a general opposition to the schools on the part of the Osages were responsible for this situation. However, coming months brought an enlarged enrollment, and Rev. Vaill's report to the secretary of war in September 1824 was in a happier tone. He wrote: (53)

50. Union Mission Journal, August 27, 1821.

51. Rev. Vaill's report for 1822. A.M.R., March 1823, pp. 73-4.

52. Vaill to Calhoun, secretary of war, Oct. 1, 1823; A.M.R., March 1824.

53. Same to same, A.M.R., May, 1825, p. 148.

"The prospects of the school are more favourable than at any time since its commencement. Two of the oldest and most forward boys, who are full-blooded Osages, have been sent to the Foreign Mission Seminary at Cornwall, in the state of Connecticut, to finish their education. They have resided in the family almost two years, and had made as good proficiency as could have been expected. The others, also, make pleasing progress in knowledge and useful habits. They speak the English language with considerable fluency. One youth of fourteen attends arithmetic, and is an apprentice in the carpenter's trade. Others serve as interpreters on common subjects. A girl about fifteen, who has been at school for more than a year, reads in the scriptures, writes a handsome hand, sews, spins, and performs any kind of domestic business with expertness. The Osages generally are not behind any other nation in regard to powers of mind. They do not yet, however, appreciate sufficiently the importance of education. They are chiefly intent on the chase, and war with their Pawnee neighbors."

Such was the situation when the treaty of 1825 made such changes in the boundaries of the Osage domain that it was apparent that the members of the tribe located on the Arkansas would be called upon to move northward to their new reservation, at a considerable distance from the mission school. Rev. Vaill could foresee the decline of the school if the removal took place unless other methods for its continuance could be devised. In October following the treaty date, he wrote to the secretary of war, and after speaking of the value of the Union property and its fitness for a permanent institution, he added: (54)

"It stands nearly on the western line of the territory; the Indian country which is to receive the different tribes that may emigrate from the east, lies contiguous, it is near the U. S. garrison; perhaps a school might be established at Union which might benefit youth of different tribes. We therefore sincerely hope that arrangements may be made by the president of the U. S. and the Society at New York for a permanent institution consistent with the principles of the government."

The annual convention of the missionaries among the Indians west of the Mississippi, at its meeting held in November 1825, concluded it would be to the interest of missions to establish a permanent mission school at Union to be composed of the more advanced children of the missionaries, more advanced Indian youth, and for pious young men preparing for the missionary work. (55)

Gov. McNair, who formed the treaty of 1825, when at Union in September, spoke favorably of establishing a high school there, but nothing effective resulted.

In May 1826, the attendance at the school reached the peak number of fifty Osage pupils. The school later had more than fifty pupils, but never that many Osages at one time. (56) Those in charge were in high spirits; but alas, it did not last long. Another war scare came, this time with the Cherokees, and the Osages sought safety on the

54. Vaill to James Barbour, secretary of war, Oct. 1, 1852. Photostat same as 44.

55. Missionary Herald, April 26, p. 117.

56. Same, p. 22.

western prairies, taking many of their children with them, thereby reducing the attendance at the school to twenty. It was not until July 1827 that the number grew back as high as forty. (57) The report of the American Board for 1828 tells of the effect of wars on the school, thus: (58)

"This station has been attended with difficulties. At no one time have the Osages been free from war, or the alarm of war, for more than half a year; and two or three times, the breaking out of war has caused a serious interruption of the school. Parents are fickle; and having no sense of the importance of learning, they remove their children, either temporarily or finally, for slight causes. The children have in no instance become discontented of themselves; but often in consequence of bad influence exerted upon them by their parents.

"Sixty-five native children have been taken into the school for education, and thirty-five now remain in it. These form the school and are boarded and taught at the expense of the mission. Most of the scholars are from the settlement at Hopefield, and from families of mixed bloods, partly French and partly Osage, where some little knowledge of civilization has existed."

Rev. Vaill continued in all his correspondence with the Society and the government to advocate an inter-tribal school, with special emphasis on the effect it would have in promoting friendship among these neighboring tribes. Indeed, he put his ideas into practice, for his report of September 30, 1830, (59) said, "The proportion of each tribe is at present as follows: Creeks 30, Osages 17, Cherokees 10." Continuing in that report, Rev. Vaill said:

"Of the importance of a central school at this place, we cannot speak too highly. Here are three tribes almost equally contiguous to us; and in this school are children whose fathers were at war when we first came into this country, now eating, sleeping and playing together as pleasantly as brothers. And not only so, but their parents are forming acquaintances, and losing their former prejudices; for now they are continually meeting and interchanging acts of civility and friendship. Already has the school done something in soothing the feelings of enmity that existed between the Cherokees and Osages."

Rev. Vaill's report for 1831 (60) showed the number of Osage pupils had decreased to 13, while the number of Creek children had increased to 25, and the Cherokees to 16. In this report he continued his appeal for the official approval and support of the inter-tribal school, urging the present success of the mixed pupils as an additional argument. However, his ideas received no open approval, and succeeding events indicated they fell upon deaf ears. In fact it had probably been intimated to him that the school was to be abolished, for his report for 1832 contained a very strong appeal for its continuance at that location, stressing its proximity to the three tribes, the suitable buildings and the established facilities.

57. 18th Annual Report of A.B.C.F.M. 1827, p. 126.

58. 19th Annual Report of A.B.C.F.M., 1828, p. 6.

59. Vaill to H. J. Eaton secretary of war, Sept. 30, 1830; Photostat same as 44, Incoming letters and reports of 1830.

60. Vaill to Cass, secretary of war, Photostat same as above, 1831.

The report for 1833 (61) says that of all the children enrolled in the school from the beginning up to that time, 54 were Greeks, 29 were Cherokees and 71, or less than half, were of the Osage tribe for whom it was specifically established. This means that during the eleven years of effort in behalf of the school, an average of less than seven Osages enrolled each year, while 83 were enrolled from other tribes in half of the time, for only Osages were admitted at first. This clearly indicates that the Osages were less appreciative of the school facilities than the other tribes, and that the small number of Osage children enrolled should be attributed to the shortcomings of the tribe rather than of the school or its management. At all times first consideration was given to Osage children applying for admittance, and none were turned away to make place for others. The Greeks and Cherokees occupied places only, which the Osages refused, or at least neglected to occupy.

Union School Closes.

The effect of the treaty of 1825 with the Osages, and of the subsequent treaties with the Cherokees, was to bring the site of Union Mission and school a considerable distance within the Cherokee reservation. More of the Cherokees who had been harrassed in Georgia were pushing into this new country in the hope of obtaining peace. In turn, the farther removal of the Osages from the vicinity of Union, necessitated by the new conditions, caused the withdrawal of more children from the school, and made it more difficult for the missionaries to reach the villages to solicit pupils, and to carry on their religious efforts. These events proved to be hard blows to the mission which sponsored the school, and were really the paramount factors in the closing of both. In October 1832, only seven of the pupils enrolled at the school were Osages, members of the very tribe the missionaries came to educate.

The report of the American Board for September 1833 contained this statement concerning the closing of the school: (62)

"In January last it was thought expedient to discontinue the school at this station (Union). The Osages, for whom it was designed, and to whom the district in which it was located then belonged, did not feel inclined to avail themselves of its advantages partly because they cared little for the education of their children, and partly because the school now being on the lands of another tribe, brought them into an undesirable connection with the Cherokees and Greeks. Nearly all of their children were withdrawn. It was not thought by the committee expedient to continue so expensive a boarding school for the benefit of the Cherokees and Greeks, who might probably be as much benefitted by schools of a different character at far less expense, (63) and in connection with other missionary labors among them. And

61. *Missionary Herald*, December 1833, p. 466.

62. 24th Annual Report of A.B.C.F.M., September 1833, pp. 115-20.

63. Dwight and Fairfield Stations, with schools, were already located among the Cherokees.

as this station, since the change made in the location of the surrounding tribes by treaties with the United States, is unfavorably situated for a preaching station, or a school of any other character, the property will be disposed of and the missionaries removed to other stations as early as the requisite arrangements can be made."

Thus ended the first school in what is now the state of Oklahoma.

Printing Succeeds Preaching.

Union Mission was established with an idea of permanency. More than \$20,000 in cash and much labor had been expended in providing suitable buildings and improvements, which, because of transitory conditions not anticipated, among the Indians, became a problem after the closing of the mission and school. Civilization had not yet reached far enough west to give them a commercial value, hence the American Board was confronted with the option of converting them to some other use or abandoning them. These circumstances led to the building which had housed the first established missionary institution in what is now the state of Oklahoma, being used to house its first printing plant.

In the summer of 1835, Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, who had been doing missionary work as well as printing among the Eastern Cherokees in Georgia, under the direction of the American Board, was sent west with his printing plant to the Western Cherokee Nation which now embraced the site of the Union Mission, for the purpose of printing religious books and pamphlets for the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Osages in their own language. The abandoned buildings at Union were given to him as quarters for his printing establishment. He moved the plant into the old school building in August 1835, and moved his family there October 15.

Upon his arrival at Dwight on his way west, Rev. Worcester wrote to the American Board: (64)

"I find it to be the opinion of the missionaries now here, that Union is not the best place for the press, though they say I had better go and examine for myself. My next object will be to visit Union and other places, and to fix upon a location as soon as I can obtain requisite information. I am told there will be danger of difficulties arising, if I establish myself at any new place without the express leave of the National Council."

Rev. Worcester visited Union at his first opportunity, and sent this report to the American Board: (65)

"In regard to the healthfulness of the station at Union there is a difference of opinion. It is not a favorable location for preaching. If a line be drawn through it, running north and south, about all on the west of that line is prairie, which will not soon be inhabited. On the east Grand River separates it from almost all of the Cherokee population, and though fordable a large part of the time, is an obstacle to attendance at preaching. East of the river is a settlement which will probably

64. Cherokee Advocate, p. 181. Date

65. Same, pp. 182-3. Date

increase, but Union is on one side from it. The place cannot be said to be favorable for exerting an influence upon the Cherokee people. The buildings are not sufficient, in their present state and form, for permanent use of the object in question, and the location is very unfavorable for building at moderate expense. The expenses of fuel and fencing timber for all purposes which would be requisite there would be considerable. It is certainly not a spot which would be chosen, if the buildings were not already there. Besides these things, there seems to be danger of a very considerable controversy with the Cherokees if the Board attempt to retain the place; some of them feeling as if an unwarrantable claim had been set up to the section on which the station is, as not belonging to the Cherokees, whereas, in the treaty with them, by which they obtained the country, no reservation of that section was made. I have looked at the treaties, such as I could find, and it seems, in the Osage treaty, to have been reserved to be disposed of by the U. S Government and the Osages. When the country was ceded to the Cherokees the place was not reserved. All that remains therefore, according to the treaties, is for the U. S. to pay the Board for the buildings, on condition of the amount being expended in Osage missions, and let the station revert to the Cherokees, to be disposed of as they see fit. At any rate, the Cherokees claim it. And even if the Board lose the value of the buildings I am not sure that the difference between the expense there and at another place which may be selected would counter-balance it in a very few years. It certainly does not combine the advantages which you remarked should be kept in view in the selection of a place.

"I have determined, however, on setting the press up at Union for the time being, and Mr. Wheeler is now at work, making preparations for printing."

After reciting that the council of the Western Cherokees had adopted a resolution that no new mission stations would be sanctioned until the National Council the following fall, should grant permission, Rev. Worcester continues: (66)

"After consideration and conversation with my missionary brethren, I concluded that, if I could obtain the approbation of the chiefs, I would set up the press at Union for the time being. Without their approbation I could not, because I was informed that some had been particularly opposed to having the station occupied by the press, and if I should set up there without the sanction of the chiefs, it might produce an excitement which would operate against obtaining leave for a new station. I therefore visited each of the chiefs individually and obtained their permission."

In a letter written from Dwight, August 26, 1835, Rev. Worcester said: (67)

"We have put the printing office at Union in good order, and when I left last week the Alphabet and Select Passages of Scripture were ready to strike off, and I directed Mr. Wheeler to set up the type for another edition of the Hymn Book. I should defer the printing of the Hymn Book until it could be enlarged, if Creek and Choctaw books were ready, or if Mr. Boudinot were here to revise the Cherokee manuscripts on hand. The school house is our printing office."

Rev. Worcester, in due time, selected Park Hill as the site for his home and printing establishment. In a letter written from Park Hill, West Cherokee Nation, June 14, 1838, to Samuel Chandler, he said: (68)

66. Same, pp. 184-5. Date

67. Same, pp. 189-90. Date

68. Same, p. 7. Date

October 15, 1835, we left Dwight to reside at Union until we could commence a new station. The following summer and fall I was here building, and my family at Union, 35 miles distant. December 1, 1836, we left Union, and the next day arrived here and took up our abode in an unfinished house. Since that I have built a printing house here, and removed the press from Union, and we have continued to do a little in publishing books in the Cherokee and Choctaw languages."

Thus ended all the connections of the Missionary Society with Union as a factor in their work.

On October 12, 1935, a century after bringing the printing plant to Union, a big meeting was held on the site by historians, librarians, and others from all parts of Oklahoma, to commemorate the centennial of printing in the state, when a granite marker was unveiled, at the conclusion of a lengthy program, by a great grand daughter of Mr. Worcester. This marker is 36 x 38 x 12 inches and was provided by the librarians of Oklahoma. A writer in the Muskogee Democrat in his report of the event, said: (69)

"Only a few crumbling walls remain of the old mission established in 1820, and abandoned in 1835. The nearby cemetery, many of the gravestones bearing the names of the historic Chouteau family, are crumbling away, unpreserved to posterity."

In a speech at the unveiling, Grant Foreman, the historian, said:

"This is one of the most historic, but the most neglected spots in Oklahoma. What was done here was only the beginning, but it was significant."

One wonders if the people of today really appreciate the full meaning of the word "significant," as above applied.

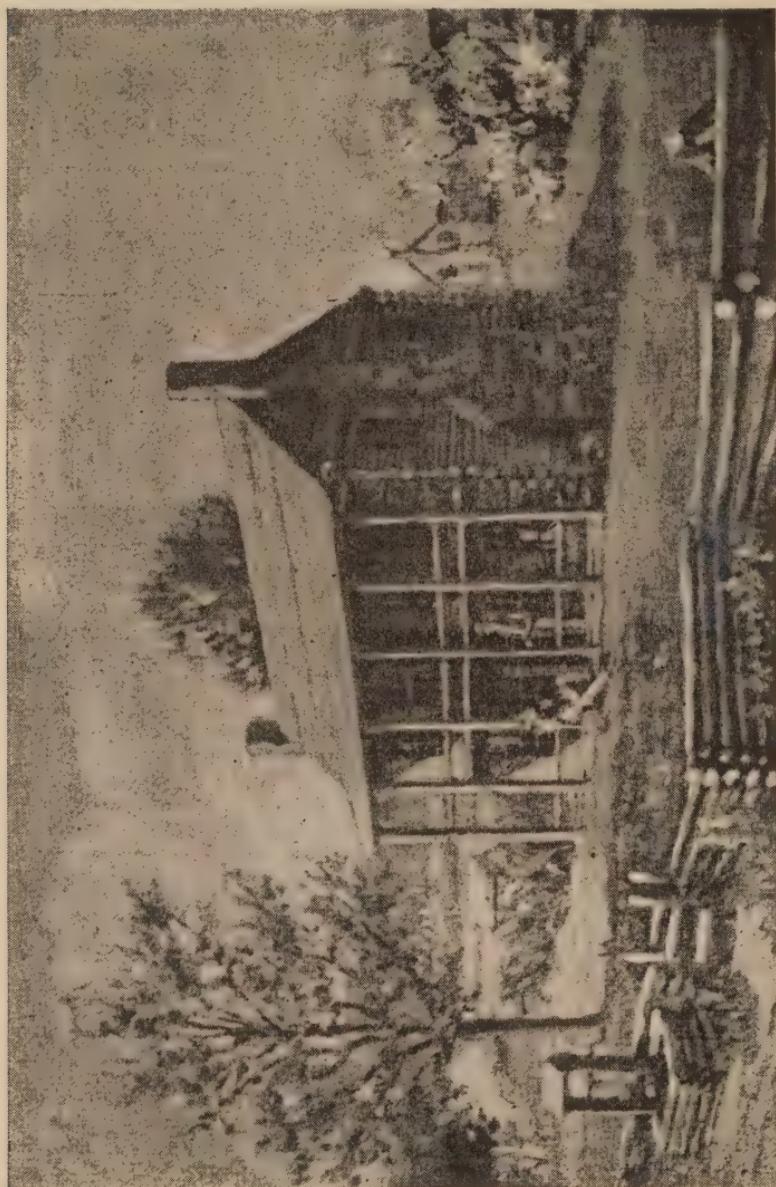
A third of a century after the closing of Union Mission, a daughter of the superintendent was passing that way, and spent a night amid the scenes of her childhood days; scenes so greatly changed as to almost puzzle identification, yet scenes around which clustered sacred memories of by-gone days when the pioneer Christian messengers brought the first beacon lights of salvation to a race roaming in darkness; scenes where her dear relatives and close friends had toiled and endured hardships, sickness and death in a benevolent effort to spread the kingdom of the Master. Silence prevailed where once, in the old log chapel, they were wont to assemble for worship and prayer, and to chant the evening hymn. Vacancy marked the spot where once the mission's cheerful children mingled freely with the more bashful ones from the tepee just crossing the threshold of a new style of life. The garden that once, under the skilled hands of mission attendants, supplied an abundant table, was now but a patch of brush and weeds, with only a scattering of wild flowers struggling to retain a bit of primitive beauty. Even the prairie which she first beheld adorned in nature's simplest charms, now seemed sombre, silent and full of awe.

Gone were the once familiar sounds of the dear old mission's activities, and no noise of a newer population fell upon the ear. No one was there to tell the story of the intervening years.

This account of that visit is taken from the annals of the Vaill family in "Some Family Annals of Long Ago." (70)

"Coming over land with some of the members of her family to Texas, in 1866, Mrs. W. (Elizabeth Vaill) Waldo spent with her traveling companion, a night at the deserted site of Union Mission. Leaving the large train composed of many wagons, which had joined company in the Nation for mutual protection against the highway-men who were then murdering and depredating along the route, the party went aside a few miles from the highroad, through the wood and valley. Nearly at dusk the lonely spot was reached. Years before, life and its activities had animated the scene; how great the change now! Of the buildings once covering the ground, but one remained, a small frame house, from the window of which it was thought an Indian boy, himself the only sign of humanity visible, was seen to peer forth and suddenly disappear, as if he were alarmed, or were endeavoring to hide from the strange intruders of his haunts. An old field there was; and some old orchard trees, set out or planted by the missionaries; all else was desolation, except the ever-living spring, which flowed on as when first seen in 1820, while some of its masonry stood firm and strong; a touching reminder, the spring and its surroundings, of those who, once refreshed by its cooling draughts, had long since been drinking above of the "river of the water of life." The graveyard was visited and certain graves sought for, but not more than one or two at best could be indentified, and those partly by a remembrance of their position, in the tangled undergrowth of the place. The years had covered the hills once partially bare, with a growth of timber. Many of the old land marks had disappeared, change was everywhere, and after a night of thoughtful reflection and of active memories, with due watchfulness on the part of the men of the company, as, in those unsettled and unsafe times, there might be, it was supposed, certain weird characters lurking in these out-of-the-way-woods, prepared for evil doing. After farewell visits and views, in the morning, the party turned from the place with mingled thoughts, and, cutting a passage through the impending growth of the hills, made their way to the great road, to rejoin the main company. The October sunshine flooding the high prairie and its flowers invited cheerful thoughts, as they came up from that lonely and deserted but sacred valley, and assisted much in dispelling the naturally sad reflections of the hour."

70. "Some Family Annals of Long Ago," by Asenath Waldo, privately printed pamphlet, copy now owned by Marie Waite Selden, Hadlyme, Conn.



Harmony Mission School Building—This is a photograph of a painting in the Presbyterian church in Rich Hill, Mo., painted by Mrs. Lucille Stevener from a description given to her by J. R. Barrow who lived at Harmony while the building was still standing.

PART III.

HARMONY MISSION

The Missouri Osages Ask for Missionaries.

The establishment of the Union Mission among the Osages of the Arkansas apparently roused a sort of jealousy or envy among the members of the tribe who had remained in Missouri. They believed those members who had separated from them and moved southward were being favored by the government, and they did not like it. They took so much interest in the matter that they sent Chief Sans Nerf with his first counsellor and highest warrior to Washington to make a plea with the president that missionaries be sent to their country also. These delegates met with a most cordial reception in Washington, and quick action resulted. Their request was in complete harmony with what the government desired to do.

The American Missionary Register, in its issue of July 1820, gave this very comprehensive account of events that followed immediately:

The Second Mission Family. (1)

"The Mission Family lately sent out to the Arkansas, by the U. F. M. S. had not reached their destination, when a new field for missionary exertion was providentially opened to the Board of Managers. This field, we are happy to add, the Managers, with a promptitude which cannot fail to secure to themselves the confidence of the Christian community, resolved to occupy without delay. The circumstance in relation to this subject, we have now the pleasure to present to the public.

"Early in the present month, the following interesting communication was made by Col. McKenney, superintendent of Indian trade, to the Secretary of Foreign Correspondence:

"Office of Indian Trade, Georgetown, July 5, 1820.

"Dear Sir, I have this moment had a most interesting interview with the Chief, Counsellor and the Principal Warrior of the Osages of Missouri. The object of the deputation is, to solicit the introduction of the school system among their people, and to pray for the means of civilization. I wish I could send you the old Chief's talk; but to do so, I should have to paint as well as to write. He is a most eloquent and able man.

"I felt authorized, considering the circumstances of the great anxiety under which I perceive them to labor, and relying on the benevolence of the Society set on foot for this laudable work, to give assurance that they might expect the same attention that had been shown to their brothers on the Arkansas. I find that these Osages are jealous of their Arkansas brethren. They claim to have merited, by holding fast their promises to the Government, the first care of this generous sort—for in the words of the old Chief, "Our hands are white and their hands are bloody."

"I cannot but think much good would result, could they be assured that an agency would be established amongst them immediately. I have directed a letter to Dr. Worcester also—believing however, that, as you are under way with the Osages,

1. American Missionary Register, July 1820, pp. 29-33.

it would be best for you to occupy that ground. But, if you cannot move in it at an early period, it would be better for the work to be got under way by another branch of the general system. The tide is now at its flood; and if taken you will be borne on to a realization of all your generous hopes.

"I have thought that, if you could come down and see this deputation, it would be well; if not, a letter would be highly acceptable. With sincere regards etc.

T. L. McKenney.

"At the earliest opportunity, this communication was laid before the Managers; and the Rev. Dr. Milledoler was appointed an agent to proceed to the city of Washington for the purpose of obtaining an interview, and forming a covenant with the Indian Chiefs. On his return, he made to the Board the following report:

"The undersigned, has the honour to report: That he left New York on Monday the 17th inst., and arrived in the city of Washington on the Wednesday following. On the next day, he was introduced by Col. McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Trade, to the Honorable Secretary of War, and laid before the Secretary copies of the talk and covenant which had been previously approved by the Board, and which were then to be presented to the Chiefs. These documents having been examined, your agent was formally introduced to the chiefs by the Secretary, in an appropriate and concise talk; in which they were told that the undersigned was the person who had been mentioned to them, and who had come from the great city of New York to offer them good things, and were assured that they might have confidence in him, and in what he had to say to them.

The following talk was delivered:

"To the Chief, Counsellor and the Principal Warrior of the Osages of the Missouri, now at Washington:

"Brothers—The United Foreign Missionary Society, in the city of New York, have heard that some of the chief men of the Osage tribe have come a long journey from their own council fires to the great council fire towards the rising sun.

"Brothers—We have also heard that you have come with a Talk to our Great Father at Washington; that you wish him to send good men amongst you, to teach you the will of the Great Spirit; to show you how he made the world; how all nations are come of one blood, and are Brothers and must love one another, and serve the Great Spirit—to show you what the Great Spirit is now doing in, and will hereafter do with the world, and what white men and red men must do, that the Great Spirit may love them, and do them good forever.

"Brothers—We have heard that you wish our Great Father at Washington to send good men into your nation, to teach your young men how to plough, and sow, and reap and raise bread out of the ground as the white people do—and how to work in iron to make ploughs and harrows, to build houses, mills to grind corn, and saw your wood, and to weave and make clothing for you and your children—and that you wish him to send out good women, to teach your young women how to sew, and knit and spin, and to prepare your food to eat as the white people eat it—and that you want good men and women to teach your children how to read and write, and know what they know, and be as great and as happy as they are.

"Now Brothers—Having heard all this, we are glad. We know that we ought to do good to our brothers—the Great Spirit has told us to do so, and will be angry with us if we do not.

"The mind of the Great Spirit has given to good men who are now dead, and who wrote it in a book, and they have given that book to us, and the Great Spirit has commanded us to give it to others, till the whole world shall have it and know it.

"This is the reason that many good men and good women have often left their fathers, and mothers, and friends, and their homes, where they had everything that was good, and have gone to your brothers on the Arkansas. The Great Spirit has now put it into your hearts to come to our Great Father at Washington for help.

"Our Great Father loves all his red children and white children. He will be glad to see them all good and happy. We love our Great Father at Washington—he knows that we will not hurt his red children, and therefore calls us to do the will of the Great Spirit, by doing good to his red children.

"Brothers—Your call sounds loud in our ears, because your hands are clean from blood, and because you have held fast your covenant with the government.

"Brothers—We have sent to you the Rev. Philip Milledoler D. D. He is a servant of the Great Spirit, and one of our counsellors, whom you may love and trust. He will hear your Talk, and make a covenant with you on all those things of which we have spoken. Open your hearts to our brother, and make him glad, that when he comes back to us, he will bring us your good talk, and make us glad also, that we may do you good, and your children after you, so long as your rivers flow, and the sun and the moon shall shine upon the world.

"New York, July 15, 1820. Signed—Robert Lenox, Peter Wilson, vice-presidents; Ph. Milledoler, foreign sec.; Z. Lewis, domestic sec.; Pascal N. Strong, recording sec.; Wm. Wilson, treasurer; Stephen N. Rowan, Robt. B. E. McLeod, G. Spring, John Borland, Isaac Heter, M. Schoonmaker, G. B. Vroom, R. Havens, Henry Rankin, managers.

To this talk, Sans Nerf, the principal chief, replied as follows:

"My Friend—You see I am not white like you; I am red, but my heart is in the same place with your heart; my blood is the same colour as your blood; my limbs are like your limbs; I am an American.

My Friend—I have heard your talk. When I go to my village, do you think my people will tell me to hold my tongue, or will shut their ears, when I tell them what you say?

"My Friend—I told my brother, the Superintendent of Indian Trade, that I did not come on here for my pleasure, nor to see the country. I came to do business. What I have come for is most done. I am pleased, and when I tell my people what you say, they will be pleased.

"My Friend—I repeat it—I am pleased with what you say, and wish you to come soon. Come to my village; if you stop in St. Louis, you will not come to my village."

"Judging from their manners, there appeared to be some misapprehension on the part of the Chiefs, as to our real object. They seemed perplexed from the difficulty of comprehending how, and by whom, all that had been promised was to be performed. Sans Nerf wanted to 'see the man,' who was to go to his village; and appeared to think that there was but an individual, instead of a family to be sent out."

(The meeting adjourned until the next day, when the Superintendent addressed the Chiefs, thus:)

"To the Chief, the Counsellor, and Warrior of the Great Osages:

"Brothers—I have listened to your talk at my office in Georgetown. You told me how long you had been looking for the promises made you in 1806—and how you had been disappointed. You told me you did not understand why so much should be done for the Osages of the Arkansas whose hands were bloody, whilst nothing

had been done for your children, although your hands were clean, and you have been true friends to America.

"Brothers—Your talk made my heart sorry. I heard it as your brother. I gave you some reasons why all these good things had been kept away so long—I told you the time was now come.

"Brothers—I promised you I would send a talk to my good brothers in New York, who are the red men's friends. I did not deceive you; No—I will never deceive you. My talk was listened to—and here is my brother come from the great city of New York to see you, and to offer to send out good men and good women to your village to instruct your children in all good things. I am glad for your sakes.

"Brothers—You have heard the talk that was made to you yesterday. I love that talk—it was good—if it had not been good I would have made it black all over. I would have told you it was not good. But I tell you it is good, and the Great Spirit approves it.

"Brothers—I was pleased when you invited these good men to go on to your village. It made my heart glad.

"Brothers—My brother now comes to make you another talk. This talk will be good—I, who am your friend, tell you so.

"Brothers—When you hear this talk which my brother will make to you presently, you will understand better what these good people in the city of New York are going to do for you, and what they expect you to do for their friends who will go to your village.

"Brothers—if you agree to my brother's talk the sun will shine upon your people—your children will walk out into the great harvest field, and the increase of their land will make them happy. They will soon gather much corn—their eyes will be opened to read books, and their fingers will be taught how to write, and then they will know who are their friends, and who are their enemies—Now they cannot know, for they do not understand what the white brothers say—their talk is not like your talk.

"Brothers—Hear the talk my good brother will make to you, and make my heart glad by agreeing to it. Good men and good women will go to you as friends, and I tell you these good people in New York, are your friends. My good brother who has come to see you is your friend. You are in the hands of your friends, and not enemies. Believe me, and try ill I say, and then you will know for yourselves.

"Brothers—This is the talk which I wish to make to you—it is done.

T. H. McKenney.

The covenant was then delivered, and is as follows:
To the principal Chief, Counsellor and Warrior of the Great Osages.

"Brothers—The Board of managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society in the city of New York have heard of the Great Osages of the Missouri. They have heard also that they desire to have the means of improvement in all good things sent to them; and being the friends and brothers of the Great Osages; the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York has hastened to serve their friends and brothers the Great Osages of the Missouri, and by the hands of their good brother the reverend Doctor Milledoler, they now offer:

"1. To send a mission family consisting of good men and good women to live in the Great Osage Nation of the Missouri.

"2. To teach their red brothers, by their missionaries: First, and above all, to know the will of the Great Spirit; also, to form a school for the instruction of their children in reading, writing and arithmetic; to instruct their young men in some of the most useful branches of the mechanic arts, and in husbandry; and their young women in sewing, spinning, knitting, and in the branches of domestic economy.

"3. As the Board of Managers do not send out their Missionaries to do hurt but to do good, they will not suffer them on any account whatsoever, to buy, nor to take for themselves, any land belonging to the nation.

"4. The Board will use their best endeavors to send out their missionaries, on or before the month of April next.

"In making this covenant, the Board of Managers expect from their red brethren,

"1. That they will receive and treat the Mission Family that shall be sent to them, with constant love, and that they will protect them from all harm.

"2. That they will help them to find a suitable place to erect their buildings to live in, and for the school, and work-shops; that they will also lay off so much land as will enable them to sow and plant, and raise corn and all such things required for their support, and to feed the Osage children who may be sent to school; and also to teach the young men of the Great Osages how to plough and sow, and gather in their wheat and rye and oats, and in general how to cultivate their lands; and that the Great Osages will protect the Mission Family, and not suffer anyone to hurt them on the ground occupied by such useful purposes, nor permit it to be taken from them, unless the Osages shall desire to have this done to please the great Father, the President of the United States.

"3. That the Missionaries, when they are sent out, will have gone so far from their friends, the Great Osage nation will be their friends, and will comfort and encourage their hearts, by helping them and doing them all the good they can in every way; and especially that our red brothers will diligently send their children to the school when it shall be opened, and help the Missionaries to maintain those good rules which are observed in the government of our own children, and without which they cannot be instructed.

"4. That if the Missionaries, or any of them, should ever conduct themselves, as to wrong or injure the nation, which we hope will never be the case, that the nation will not drive them away nor hurt them, but that they will call a council, and if the council so determine, that they will complain of them to their Great Father at Washington, or to the Society at New York, who will take measures to punish them, or to have them removed as the case may require."

To which the Chief replied:

"My Friend—I have heard your talk. You say your Society in New York will send a family and make a school in my nation. We are glad. We accept your offer with much pleasure.

"My Friend—When I get back to my village I will tell this talk over to my people. I am satisfied—my friends here are satisfied—and my nation will be satisfied.

"My Friend—So soon as the family arrives at my nation, I will go out to meet them, at the head of my warriors, and will receive them as my friends.

"My Friend—You say you want a piece of land—you may point it out and it shall be yours, wherever you choose. It shall be for your use. I will mark it out with my finger. It shall be as much as you want for the family. Come soon.

"My Friend—You ask how many children will go to school. I cannot answer this. I have children—I will send them to be instructed. I believe all my nation will wish the same thing. I believe they will generally send their children to your school."

"My Friend—I always wished to consider myself an American. I now consider myself more so than ever, since I hear your talk."

"My Friend—I will do all in my power to make friends between us. The Counsellor and Warrior will assist me to do so."

(The Counsellor and Warrior gave their approval in brief talks.)

The chiefs having thus assented to the covenant, it was signed and witnessed, and copies of both the talk and the covenant were presented to the chief.

Philip Milledoler, Special Agent of the Board.

The report of the special agent received the unanimous approbation of the Board; and the Committee of Missions were directed to look out immediately for Missionaries, and the Committee of Ways and Means to adopt measures of furnishing the necessary supplies.

Mission Family Organized.

Dr. Milledoler set about immediately to organize a "Missionary Family" to send on the new mission. Application to the number of more than one hundred were received in a short time. Not all of those who applied were suitable for the work needed, nor could the Board afford to sustain that number in the mission field among the Osages, hence, after careful investigation, the following were selected:

Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge, superintendent, and family, Underhill, Vermont.

Rev. Benton Pixley, assistant superintendent, wife and child, East Williamson, Vermont.

Rev. Wm. B. Montgomery and wife, Danville, Pa.

Dr. Wm. N. Belcher, physician, Greenwich, Conn.

Daniel H. Austin, wife and five children, Waterbury, Vt.

Samuel Newton, wife and two children, Woodbridge, Conn.

Samuel B. Bright, wife and child, Bollingsburg, Pa.

Otis Sprague and wife, Leicester, Mass.

Amasa Jones and wife, Rindge, N. H.

John Seeley and wife, Rockaway, New York.

Miss Susan Comstock, Wilton, Conn.

Miss Mary Etris, Philadelphia, Pa.

Miss Eliza Howell, Baltimore, Maryland.

In this group were mechanics, machinists, farmers, and a physician, as well as missionaries and teachers. Some of the women were selected because of their fitness to teach domestic science, and music.

The members of the family assembled in New York, March 3, 1821,

attended farewell services on March 5 and 6, and departed for the steamer Atlanta on the 7th, and were soon on their way.

Instructions to the Mission Family.

On assembling in New York, the Mission Family was given its instructions, commission and a letter to the Osage chiefs. These documents set forth the spirit and intentions of the occasion so well they are deemed worthy of being quoted here in full. (2)

"Instructions to the members of the Mission Family destined for the Harmony Station, among the Osages of the Missouri.

"Brethren and Sisters—In the providence of God you are about to enter on the discharge of the duties of those missionary offices to which you have respectfully been set apart. Under the circumstances, the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, feel it their duty to give you the following instructions, relating to your personal religion—the matter and manner of your preaching—your outward deportment—the formation of religious assemblies, and the administration of ordinances—the establishment and conduct of schools for the children—instruction in the useful arts—observation on the language and customs of the Indians, and the prospects of extending the gospel among them; and communications with the government of the United States, and with the Board of Managers of the Society.

1. Your Personal Religion.

"No language we can use, can express with sufficient force, the importance of this to your own comfort, the success of your work, and the glory of God. Without it, the finest genius, the greatest literary acquirements, and the purest eloquence, will be unavailing. By this we mean, not only that your hope of and interest in the Saviour be well founded, but that you constantly strive to maintain the power of religion in your own hearts; that you live near to God, giving yourselves much to reading the scriptures, to solemn meditation and prayer. In the peculiar circumstances in which you will be placed, you need uncommon love to God, zeal for his glory, and special communications of divine wisdom and strength. See therefore that you habitually seek these at the Throne of Grace, and depend upon them in the discharge of the duties of your calling; and though what is called ostentation in religion, is to be avoided as vile, yet to live in such a manner as that they who observe you may believe you to be holy persons, denied to self, crucified to the world, and having your conversation in heaven.

II. The Matter and Manner of Your Preaching.

"As to the matter, let it be the great and distinguished doctrines of divine revelation; such as the sin and misery of man by the fall; the eternal counsel of God, revealed in time to save sinners by Jesus Christ his own eternal and coequal Son; the incarnation, obedience, sufferings, and death of the Son of God in the room of sinners; his resurrection, ascension, intercession in Heaven; his being head over all things to the church, and the final judgment; the application, the Redemption of Christ by God the Holy Spirit; and the absolute necessity of his agency to change the heart of men, and bring them to faith and repentance, holiness and happiness. The confessions of faith of the three denominations of Christians united in this Society, are to be the standard of your faith, and your teaching is to be in conformity thereto. We believe, and you have professed to believe that these doctrines are revealed by God, and found in experience to be the only and effectual means of savingly impressing the minds of men, reforming their lives, and turning them to holiness. We, therefore, warn and charge you, beloved brethren, against

2. Same, February 1821, pp. 324-8.

setting up your own wisdom; against preaching natural religion distinct from revealed; against founding moral conduct on any other principal than the grace and will of God. We enjoin you to declare, as your hearers are prepared to receive it, the whole counsel of God; and to remember in all your ministrations, that Christ crucified is unto them which are called, the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Affect not subtleties and deep points of controversy. Wave as much as possible what would lead to questions, rather than Godly edifying. Adhere to the simplicity which is in Christ, trusting to the power of the Holy Ghost, to take the things of Christ, and show them to the conscience of your hearers with effectual energy.

"As to the manner of your preaching, let it be such as is best adapted to the comprehension of your hearers. In addressing the untutored Indians, and especially by an interpreter, your manner must necessarily be very plain, in short sentences, and frequently interpreted—partaking more of the nature of conversation, than of formal and continued discourse. This will demand of you much patience, condescension and forbearance. Do not despond when you see no immediate fruits of your labours; but wait in humble dependence on the spirit of God to give efficacy to his own word.

III. Your Outward Department.

"This is a matter to which we wish you all to carefully attend. You must be grave, sober, honest, chaste, meek and faithful to your word. The Indians neither admire nor trust a light and trifling character. They are said to pay a strict regard to truth. They exhibit, on many occasions, acuteness and sagacity. They discern deviations from that natural law which is written on their hearts; and if they find you defective it will destroy their confidence in you, and prejudice them against the Gospel. In your intercourse with one another, we enjoin upon you the cultivation of harmony, and a good understanding, by a course of mild condescending, forebearing and conciliating conduct. This, while it will enable you to strengthen each others hands, and encourage each others hearts in the prosecution of the mission, will exemplify to the heathen, the benign influence of Christianity on the hearts and lives of men. We farther instruct you to abstain from all traffic—all buying and selling of lands—all political discussions; and in one word, from everything which might excite a suspicion, that your errand is for any other purpose, or that you have any other object in view, than the temporal, the spiritual, and eternal welfare of the Indians.

IV. The Formation of Religious Assemblies and the Administration of Ordinances.

"It will be proper for you to have a fixed place to assemble the Indians, and others who may attend on the Lord's Day, and occasionally on other days for public worship; and to constitute a regular church and congregation. This, however, need not prevent itinerating in the course of the week, from place to place, where opportunity can be had for preaching the Gospel, with the prospect of organizing new congregations, and extending the field of missionary labours among the heathen.

"As soon as any are instructed in the great truths of our holy religion, and are brought to embrace the faith, and give good hope of steadfastness in their profession, you will publicly admit them to the ordinance of baptism, and afterward their children. You will appoint regular periods for the administration of the Lord's Supper, to members of the Mission Family, and the baptized adults among the Indians. You will be careful to admit none to these seals of the covenant, without frequent conversation, and sufficient interval for trial. An hasty admission will be injurious to the persons themselves; and they may, by their apostacy, deeply wound the cause of Christ.

"When Indian women seek religious instruction, with a view to participation in ordinances, let the conversation be uniformly held in the presence of their husbands,

fathers, or at least one of the females of your own family, so as to avoid temptation, and the smallest cause of suspicion to the Indians. We enjoin the utmost circumspection in this matter.

"V. The establishment of schools for children and youth will require your early and unremitting attention. In entering on the duties of this department, you who are teachers, will have to employ considerable address to induce the Indian parents to submit their children to your superintendence and instruction, and to overcome the reluctance of the children themselves, to abandon their habits of idleness and roving, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge. You will take into the Mission family as many of the youth of both sexes as can be conveniently accommodated, feed them and clothe them, and arrange them in classes, according to their age and proficiency, so that those who are sufficiently instructed for the common business of life may retire, and make room for others, until the whole rising generation have received the instruction you have to communicate. As the attendance of the youth on your instruction will be altogether voluntary, and inducements rather than discouragements are to be continually held out to secure that attendance, bodily correction will be improper, unless countenanced by the parents; and the only means you will employ to enforce obedience, will be admonition and persuasion. The matter of your instruction is to be reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic. This is to be communicated in the English language only, and thus the way will be more effectually prepared for preaching the Gospel with success, and opportunities afforded of installing sound principles, and gaining the youth over to civilization and religion. You are expected to put into execution the Lancasterian plan of education, as affording better facilities than any other, of communicating instruction. At the opening of your school every morning, and its dismissal at night, the Board expects you to send up your supplications to a throne of grace for a blessing on your labors; for wisdom to direct, and strength to support you in your arduous task; and your daily petitions must be accompanied with thanksgiving for daily mercies. Thus you may hope, that your admonitions and instructions will be attended with a happier and more abiding effect; and that while you pray with and for the children, they may at once be taught and induced to address a Throne of Grace on their own behalf, for those spiritual blessings which are essential to their present and everlasting happiness. In addition to your ordinary instructions in the week, the Board will be highly gratified if, on the Sabbath days, you also instituted a school for the instruction of the male and female adults.

VI. Instruction in the Useful Arts.

"Those of you who are mechanics will erect suitable buildings, in which your implements may be preserved, and your work performed. You will take as many of the Indian youth as choose your respective trades, and may be useful to yourselves and the nation, as apprentices. Your instruction to them will be gratuitous, but where a moderate price can be obtained for any work you do for the Indians, you will receive it and appropriate it to the support of the Missionary establishment, and render an account to the Superintendent, who will account to this Board.

"The farmers, who will have the superintendence of so much land as the nation may mark out for your use, will endeavor to make the farm, so far as relates to the erection of fences, the clearing of wood, the raising of stock, the tilling of the soil, and the preservation of the crops, a model for the nation. They are to instruct the Indians in agriculture, not by going from house to house, and farm to farm, as servants to the tribe, as this would encourage their indolence and prevent due attention to the interests of the Mission; but they are to communicate and exemplify their instruction on the missionary establishment, where they will invite, for that purpose, as many of the Indians as choose to come, and all the produce of the farm is to be common stock, for the support of the Mission family.

"The physician will consider it his duty to be assiduous in his attention, not only to the health of the members of the mission family; but also to the health of any diseased among the nation, who will ask his advice. His attentions are expected to be kind and seasonable, and his visits to the sick are to be improved not only to the health of their bodies, but to advice and consolation in the concerns of their souls. And he is at liberty to teach the knowledge of the healing art and the use of medicines to any of the youth in the tribe who may be desirous of pursuing his profession.

"The female part of the mission family are to instruct the Indian women who may choose to learn, and the children of the school, to sew, knit, spin, weave, to make bread, butter and cheese, and to perform the various duties of the kitchen, as washing, cooking etc. When the pupils attend school, they are to communicate this instruction in the morning and evening, or at such other intervals as will not interfere with the prosecution of their other studies. And for the instruction of those who do not attend the school, they will find it expedient to appoint regular working days, of which they give notice, and to which they invite the women of the tribe. They will, in the management of the domestic concerns of the mission, give the Indian women so many examples of industry, regularity, cleanliness, affection, and quietness of spirit.

"In a word, the Board instructs the members of the mission family to attend to the duties to which they have been respectively designated. And whatever station they may severally occupy, each is expected to aid the other. You are to bear each others burdens, share each others cares, assist each others labours, and participate in each others sorrows, and joys.

VII. Observations on the Language, Customs of the Indians, Etc.

"Until you have acquired a knowledge of their language your preaching will be by an interpreter. But one at least of your number, either the superintendent or assistant, must consider it his duty to learn the Osage language as soon as possible in order to avoid the expense and the inconvenience of communicating instructions through an interpreter. The elderly Indians will have to be taught in their own language; but as the younger part of the nation make progress in the instruction of the school, they will be prepared to hear the Gospel in your own tongue.

"You are to treat the customs and usages of the Indians with great delicacy and tenderness. However absurd they may appear to you, you must not ridicule them. Those who are indifferent, you will leave to be eradicated by time, and by observation upon others which are to be preferred; and should any of them be sinful, you will endeavor to convince them of their impropriety by your own example of avoiding them, by patient reasoning, and by the word of God. The observance of the Lord's Day will be new to them; you will therefore by your example as well as your precept teach them its sacredness. The marriage rites you will find peculiar; you will therefore instruct them in the nature and duties of the married state, and as frequently as possible solemnize marriages with exhortation and prayer.

"In relation to the prospect of making new settlements among the southwestern Indians, and extending the Gospel among them, we instruct you generally to attend to these subjects; and to communicate from time to time to the Board any information you may obtain, that promises to be of real utility to the mission.

VIII. Communications with the Government and Society.

"According to the plan of the government of the United States of missionary stations which they approve, it will be your duty to report the state of the schools to them at certain periods. We do therefore charge you to 'report to them as often and as extensively as their regulations may require,' and you will attentively and

respectfully regard any suggestions from their agents, in the vicinity of your missionary establishment.

"Frequent correspondence with the Board of Directors, through their Domestic Secretary, (at present Mr. Zechariah Lewis, New York) is positively enjoined on the superintendent, and in case of his inability, on his assistant; and to render that correspondence at once easy to yourselves, and interesting to the Board, we recommend to you the keeping of a regular journal, and from that sending to the Board extracts relative to every material occurrence. Inform the Board of your progress and your prospects. State to them your difficulties, your expenditures, and your wants; and make them acquainted with any measure which experience may suggest as proper to be adopted for the benefit of the mission. You will also forward an annual account of the produce and stock of the farm, and of the labours of the mechanics. We do not expect your epistles to be long, unless the importance of the matter to be communicated requires it; but we do expect them to be regular and frequent.

"In order to carry the foregoing instructions into effect, you will, as soon as practicable, leave this city and pursue your journey with all convenient speed, and by the most direct route to the Osages of the Missouri. Through the whole extent of your journey you are authorized to solicit and receive in the name of the Board, and for the common support of the mission, money and such articles of food and clothing as may be useful for the missionary family; all of such donations, you will keep and transmit to the Board a faithful account. On your arrival among the Osages, you will convene a council of the chiefs and warriors of the nation, show them your commission, and deliver to them the talk of the Board of Managers, which is herewith transmitted. On the site which the nation, in council, may agree that you shall occupy, you will immediately proceed to erect such buildings as will be necessary for the whole mission establishment—for the accommodation of the family and the schools; and as soon as the buildings are ready for occupancy, you will in your several departments fully commence your missionary labours.

"In the discharge of the duties of your office, be assured our beloved brethren and sisters in the Lord, that nothing in our power shall be wanting to contribute to your support, your comfort and your success. Do not faint, nor be discouraged under the difficulties with which you may have to struggle. 'Endure hardness as good soldiers of Christ.' Count not your lives dear unto yourselves, so that you may finish your course with joy, and the ministry you have received.

"Brethren, we have from the nature of the case, left many things in the performance of your duty to your own piety, prudence, and discretion. But you may expect further particular instructions from the Board, as the nature of the information received from you, and the state of the mission may from time to time require. And now, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all, Amen

Signed in the name and on behalf of the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society. New York, February, 1821."

General Commission. (3)

"Know all men by these presents, that the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, at their session in the city of New York, have appointed, and do hereby appoint, the following persons as a Mission Family for the Great Osage Indians, commonly styled the Osages of the Missouri, viz:

Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge, Minister of the Gospel, Superintendent.
Rev. Benton Pixley, Minister of the Gospel, Assistant.

*. Same, March 1821, pp. 349-350.

Rev. Wm. B. Montgomery, Minister of the Gospel, and Teacher.

Wm. N. Belcher, Physician and Surgeon.

Daniel H. Austin, Samuel Newton, Samuel B. Bright, Otis Sprague, Amasa Jones, John Seeley, Farmers, Mechanics and Teachers.

Mrs. Sally Dodge, Mrs. Lucia Pixley, Mrs. Jane Montgomery, Mrs. Lydia Austin, Mrs. Betsy Newton, Mrs. Emilie Belcher, Mrs. Catherine H. Sprague, Mrs. Roxana Jones, Mrs. Mary H. Seeley, Mrs. Charlotte Bright, Miss Susan Comstock, Miss Harriett Woolley, Miss Mary Weller, Miss Mary Etris, Miss Eliza Howell, Teachers, Housekeepers, Seamstresses, etc., together with the seven children of Mr. and Mrs. Dodge, the five children of Mr. and Mrs. Austin, the two children of Mr. and Mrs. Newton, one child of Mr. and Mrs. Pixley, and one child of Mr. Bright.

"Be it also known, that the Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, placing the highest confidence in the integrity, judgment and discretion of the aforesaid Superintendent and Assistant, do hereby authorize them to procure and purchase such materials and labour, as will be necessary to erect and finish a Mission house and out-buildings, for the accommodation of the Mission family; and also such provisions and other articles as may be needed for the subsistence, support and comfort of said family.

"Be it also known, that all drafts drawn upon the treasurer of this Society, for the objects above mentioned, by the said Superintendent and Assistant, shall be duly honoured and paid.

"And the said Superintendent and Assistant, and all the members of the said Mission Family, are hereby most affectionately recommended to the confidence, and the kind and friendly attention of the agents and officers of government; of the inhabitants of the cities, towns and country through which they may pass; and of the chiefs, counsellors, warriors and people of the Great Osage Nation.

"Signed by order of the Board of Managers.

"New York, March 7, 1821."

Talk to the Osages.

The United Foreign Missionary Society prepared a "talk" to the Osages in which they accepted the invitation of the chiefs and told of the plans of the missions, the chief features of the "talk" were as follows: (4)

"Brothers—Our Counsellor told your chief that we were willing to send a family of good men and women to live among you; to teach you to know the will of the Great Spirit; to establish schools for the instruction of your children in reading, writing and arithmetic; to instruct your young men in the knowledge of the useful arts, and young women in the various branches of good housekeeping.

"Brothers—Our Counsellor told you that he wished you to be kind to the family we should send to you; to set apart a portion of your land for their use; to encourage them by sending your children to the school they should establish; and help them to maintain good rules for their government; and we were rejoiced to hear, when he returned to us, that your chief accepted his proposals.

"Brothers—The time to fulfill these engagements has now come. The family you now see before you is the one we promised to send to you. At our invitation they have come together from different parts of our land, that they might go to you and endeavor to do good to your bodies and your souls in this world, and in the world to come.

"Brothers—Our brothers, Nathaniel B. Dodge, Benton Pixley and Wm. B. Montgomery, are ready to instruct you in the knowledge of God, the great and good Spirit, and explain to you the meaning of that beloved speech which he has condescended to give us in the Bible. Our brother, Wm. N. Belcher, will, by his advice and his medicines, endeavor to preserve the health of your people. Our brothers, Daniel H. Austin, John Seeley, Otis Sprague, Samuel Newton, Samuel B. Bright and Amasa Jones, will teach you to build houses, in which your families may live; to make ploughs, axes, and other implements, by which you may clear and cultivate your lands.

"Our brothers and sisters will teach you and your children to read, write and number, so that you may do your business without being deceived; and our sisters Sally Dodge, Lucia Pixley, Emilie Belcher, Lydia Austin, Betsy Newton, Jane Montgomery, Catherine H. Sprague, Roxana Jones, Mary H. Seeley, Charlotte Bright, Susan Comstock, Harriett Woolley, Eliza Howell, Mary Weller and Mary Etris, will teach you to spin and weave, to knit and sew, that you may know how to make your own clothes; and to make your own bread, butter and cheese.

"Brothers—We expect you to point out a place for them on your lands, where they will build houses for their accommodation, and schools for the education of your children. Let it be a healthy spot. Let it be high grounds where they will have a free circulation of air. Let it be ground to raise produce for the support of the family. Let it be near some navigable stream where they may easily get what we shall send to them. We love our dear brothers and sisters whom we have sent to you; therefore, do we wish you to place them in a situation in which they may be comfortable.

"Brothers—We have confidence in you; if we had not, we would not have sent our dear brothers and sisters to live among you. We are your friends. We expect to gain nothing in this world for all we desire to do for you; we look for our reward in heaven, from God, the good spirit. To that God do we commit you and the dear brethren and sisters we have sent to you."

Government Cooperation.

Dr. Milledoler accompanied the Mission Family on the first part of the journey, then proceeded to Washington, as a special commissioner for the United Foreign Missionary Society, to obtain the active cooperation of the government in this new missionary venture. His application to John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, brought an encouraging reply, as well as letters of introduction, as here quoted from the report Dr. Milledoler made to the Society: (5)

Letter from Secretary of War, March 15, 1821.

Sir—I have received your letter of 14th instant, reporting the progress of the Mission Family which was sent out during the last year by the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York, for the purpose of forming an establishment to teach the Osages on the Arkansas, in conformity to the views of government; reporting also, that another family is now on the way to form a similar establishment in the Great Osage Nation; the arrangement which has been made with the Missionary Society of New York, relative to the school among the Tuscarora and Seneca Indians, and other proceedings and arrangements of the Society and requesting the aid of government.

5. Same, June 1821, pp. 402-5.

The extent of these arrangements is highly honorable to the Society, and viewed with great satisfaction by the government; and I hope the very flattering prospects of success which you have, will be fully realized.

The difficulties which the Arkansas Mission Family have had to encounter, and the very serious loss which it has sustained, by the death of two of its members, are much to be regretted. It is hoped it will proceed without further impediment. The patience, perseverance, and zeal, which appear to have animated and sustained the party, are pledges of ultimate success.

To the establishment among the Great Osage Nation in Missouri, I have agreed to make an advance of \$1000 on account of buildings, which will be paid to the superintendent of the party or other authorized person.

The regulations indicate the aid which will be given to each institution which may be approved, and prescribe the forms upon which the payments will be made. It is very desirable that these regulations should be strictly observed, particularly so far as they relate to the plan and estimate of the buildings, and the annual report for each establishment.

I enclose herewith, agreeably to your request, a letter to Gov. Clark (which, although his duties as Superintendent of Indian Affairs will be very short,) to Mr. Chauteau, the sub-agent to the Great Osages, a circular to officers, civil and military, and a short address to the Chiefs, etc., of the Great Osage Nation.

I have the honour to be, with very great respect,

Your obedient servant,
J. C. Calhoun.

Dr. Philip Milledoler.

The other letters contained introductions, instructions and requests much in line with the above.

The Trip to Pittsburgh.

The first lap of the trip of the missionaries to their new far western home was aboard the steamer, Atlanta, thence by wagon overland to Pittsburgh where they embarked on keel boats for a long trip down the Ohio River, and up the Mississippi, Missouri and Osage rivers to their destination in the Osage country.

On their way down to Philadelphia, stops were made at Elizabeth-town, New Brunswick and other points. The enthusiasm aroused by the tremendous farewell party given in New York was augmented by the greetings of the throngs of well-wishers who cheered the family at each stop. Everyone seemed happy in the belief that a great Christian movement was being promoted, and vying friends sought to cheer these crusaders, strong in the belief that they were God's servants on their way to a heathen land to devote their lives to spreading the dominion of Christ's kingdom on earth. Rev. Pixley wrote to a friend, saying, "We have been warned, exhorted, encouraged, and most affectionately bidden God speed, with many tears, expressive of both joy and fear. I could not tell you, if I had time, what fervent prayers have ascended, and how many, whom we never saw before, have

been dissolved in a flood of tears at our departure. It exceeds all description, and leaves us only a glowing remembrance of what cannot be expressed." (6)

The Mission Journal kept by Rev. Dodge gives this interesting account of the trip to the Ohio River. (6)

Monday, March 12, 1821—Arrived in New Brunswick, in the steamboat at 4 p.m. Passed the night with Col Neilson. Had an interview this evening with Rev. Dr. Livingston, who informed us that twelve or fourteen years ago, the chief of the Great Osage tribe, with ten or twelve of his counsellors and warriors, were in New York; and that in behalf of the New York Missionary Society, he delivered to them an address, and presented to them a bible, as the best treasure they could receive. The doctor has given me a letter of introduction to the chief that the good people of New York have now sent good men and good women to teach his nation to read and understand that book. Received of Col. Neilson \$15.70 contributed in the two churches in New Brunswick.

March 14—Arrived in Philadelphia this morning, and found the family in tolerable good health and in good spirits.

Lord's Day, March 18—Preached three times at Strasburg, and took up a collection.

March 26—We lodged on Thursday night at Shippensburg, where we received some money and a box of clothing; passed the Sabbath at Sidlinghill, where I preached twice.

March 31—We lodged on Wednesday night at Laurel Hill; on Tuesday night, at Youngstown, and on Friday night at Jacksonville. This evening, after a journey of 17 days, we arrived at Pittsburgh; and have abundant reason to notice, with gratitude, the hand which has led us here. Not an hour have we been detained by sickness, or by failure of wagons or horses.

April 7—The whole of this week has been occupied in fitting and loading our boats.

Business Meeting.

On Friday evening, the Mission Family convened for the purpose of establishing regulations by which to be governed on the journey; the result of which was, that we rise at half past four in the morning, attend prayers at five, breakfast at seven, dine at half past twelve, and sup at six; and that we depart from this place on Tuesday next.

The following regulations have been established for the government of our hands hired as boatmen:

1st. All the men employed by the Superintendent and Assistant, must rise precisely at the ringing of the bell every morning.

2nd. They must attend to the worship of God with the Mission Family every morning and evening, at the ringing of the bell.

3rd. There must be an obliging behaviour towards each other, and all the Mission Family, and no profane or indecent language used on any occasion.

4th. There must be no farther use of ardent spirits than what is considered necessary by the Superintendent and assistant. And especially there must be no buying and drinking of ardent spirits in the places where we stop from time to time.

6. Same, April 1821, pp. 395-6.

To hands who will agree to these regulations, and who appear otherwise qualified, we offer 50 cents per day, who will engage to go the whole of our journey, where we discharge them, giving them provisions to last back to St. Louis.

We have engaged the same man to go with us as chief pilot, who went with the Union Family last year. He has been out since that time with the family who went to Elliott. You will understand that we go in two keel boats. As a steersman for the second, we have hired Mr. Barnes, who is attached to Mr. Badger's company. He does not wish to go for wages, but considers himself devoted to the missionary cause. He wishes to go on, not only to help us on the way, but to tarry with us through the season. The agents, Messrs. Herron and Allen, in Pittsburgh, are remarkably active in assisting us. Many of the people here are very benevolent, and their donations amount to a very considerable sum.

April 10, 1821—This morning we expect to embark.

Nathl. B. Dodge, Jun.

Down the Ohio.

The trip down the Ohio was eventful, although the cheerful beginning augured a bon voyage. Like one big family united for a high and common purpose, they were most congenial and friendly among themselves, although they had but recently assembled from different states as strangers. This trip to the west was, to them, a big adventure into a land of conjectured mysteries. They were leaving friends and family homes in the most enlightened section of America to carry that enlightenment into what was, to them, a new and strange world. Floating peacefully down the Ohio toward a desired destination, the happy family enjoyed it much in the spirit of a holiday voyage before entering upon the labors of life. They enjoyed to the fullest the new scenery and nature's wonders enroute. At every stop they were greeted warmly by new friends who gave them cheer and praise as well as substantial contributions to their material welfare, and who bade them God speed. In this happy frame of mind they could have enjoyed life's fulness had not, then as now, sorrows come to mingle with the joys. Hardships, sickness, and even death, each played a part in mellowing the moods of the travelers and keeping their minds close to God and to the purpose of their mission.

It was a coincidence that the same pilot now guided them over the same course followed by the Union Mission Family a few months before; and that they passed along the shores where in ancestral days, there roamed the fierce Osages, the terror of neighboring tribes; and perhaps where many unrecorded battles were fought long before missionary influences penetrated the west.

The highlights of the trip are told in these extracts from the Mission Journal kept by Revs. Dodge and Pixley: (7)

7. Same, July 1821, pp. 13-19.

Marietta, Monday, April 16, 1821—Two of our single sisters providentially called at the house of the aged General Putnam, who, in consequence of his infirmities, is unable to go abroad. On being informed that these young ladies belonged to a missionary family who had arrived there on their way to the Great Osage Indians, the old gentleman turned to them, and with tearful eyes, said, "I cannot kill the fatted calf, but I can slaughter the stalled ox." Accordingly before 9 o'clock, the four quarters of a well fatted ox, weighing nearly 800 pounds, were sent on board our boats. Brother Dodge made him a short visit, and the scene was truly affecting. The aged general expressed great feelings for the situation of the Indians and ardent desires that our mission may be blessed.

The good people of this place also presented us with a fat sheep, a quantity of cheese, a barrel of seed wheat, a small sum of money, and a variety of other articles. Many of the citizens assembled at the shore to witness our departure. A Hymn was sung, and a prayer offered up for the blessing of our enterprise by Rev. Mr. Robbins.

April 17—Much rain fell during last night, and the water poured in upon our beds. In the morning we were prevented by snow, sleet, and high wind, from taking our usual breakfast on deck. Came this day fifty miles.

April 20. Stopped a short time at Portsmouth, and received from the people of this place and of Circleville, seven barrels of flour, a quantity of bacon and butter, one shovel and a pair of blankets. Bro. Dodge, this evening, took the steamboat for Cincinnati, 100 miles distant. Came this day 50 miles.

April 24. Arrived in Cincinnati. Found that Bro. Dodge had been getting things in forwardness, so that we would not be detained at that place more than two days. The family were invited to lodge with the inhabitants. Today, one of Bro. Dodge's little boys fell overboard. No one saw him fall, or knew he was in the river. Bro. Austin, while passing from one boat to the other, saw merely a head sinking in the water, and which he instantly seized, and thus providentially saved the life of the child.

April 25—We are busily engaged in gathering the articles purchased for the mission, and stowing them away in the boats. The principal articles purchased were a pair of mill-stones, 18 barrels of pork, 7 of beef, 1 of lard, a handmill, and a quantity of cordage for rigging the boats. Also received seven barrels of hard bread in exchange for flour.

While in Cincinnati, we received from the good people in donations and collections, cash \$95.75, provisions to the amount of \$116.

April 28—Arrived in Louisville. Received the following donations: From the citizens of this place, various articles to the value of \$26; and from Chillicothe, eleven barrels of flour, a piece of two cloth, a bale of clothing, and some other articles; from Harrodsburgh, 3 barrels of flour, some bacon and a quantity of clothing. This day we passed the falls of the Ohio.

Sabbath, April 29—Public worship was held in a beautiful grove on the Kentucky shore. From 20 to 30 of the inhabitants united with us in our worship. Several of these persons appeared to be solemn, and inclined to give heed to Bible instruction. Some of them could not read, and we learned that the country around was surprisingly destitute of Bibles and all kinds of religious books. We gave them two Testaments and a quantity of religious Tracts. In the afternoon some of the brethren walked some distance in order, if possible, to form a Sabbath school. They found a number of persons willing to engage in the work.

This day Sister Newton became the mother of a fine daughter.

May 3—This was a pleasant morning and we had the wind in our favour, so that we run at a good rate. While thus under sail, one of our boatmen, John W. Patterson, fell overboard. At this crisis, both of the skiffs happened to be gone; and as he was not able to swim, he sunk to rise no more.

We have at this time another unexpected trial. Sister Newton appears worse, and in a situation quite alarming. At the request of Sister Newton, we have resolved should she live till tomorrow, to observe the day as a season of humiliation, fasting and prayers; and not leave the shores where we are.

May 4. Bro. Newton's baby died this morning. Most of the forenoon was spent in religious exercises, agreeable to the resolution of yesterday. Arrangements were made to inter the body of the infant in the neighboring burying ground, Mount Vernon, Indiana.

May 5. Arrived at Shawneetown, and Sister Newton was conveyed on shore to an airy room, and our physician obtained the counsel, and the measures he had pursued received the approbation, of a respectable physician at this place.

May 6. This morning, Sister Newton resigned her spirit into the hands of Him who gave it. Her remains were interred in this place this afternoon, it being considered from the state of the corpse, unsafe to keep it longer. The funeral sermon was delivered by Bro. Pixley. Bro. Newton spoke at the grave to the following purport: Friends and strangers, we leave you a sacred deposit, the remains of one who was near and dear to us. Will you protect this grave, and not suffer it to be obliterated or injured; and if a monument should be erected, will you preserve it, so that if any relative of the deceased should pass this way, you may conduct them to the spot, and give the mournful satisfaction of dropping a tear on the grave of their departed friend."

The Mississippi River was reached on May 9, 1821.

Up the Mississippi.

The most arduous part of the trip was now at hand. Coming down the Ohio River, the family could drift with the current, even against the wind. Not so when they began to ascend the Mississippi. They must stem the current then, and when the wind was unfavorable for their sails, the boats had to be pushed with poles, or pulled by ropes from the shore.

Miss Doris Denton, who grew up among the traditions of the Harmony Mission wrote that (8)

"One can scarcely imagine a more laborious task than pulling or pushing such a boat against the swift current of the Mississippi.

Sometimes at night the boats would break from their moorings and drift down the river a greater distance than had been laboriously covered the previous day. Faultiness in boat equipment impeded the journey. Sometimes a delay of a day or two was necessary in repairing the steering oar or the ropes. Great difficulty was encountered in passing enormous trees lying in the water, some being over 100 feet long. Holding fast to the shores, they stretched their limbs out like long arms, ob-

8. Doris Denton's Thesis, "Harmony Mission", on file at Kansas University. Miss Denton lived near Harmony.

structing the flow of water in some places and causing a foaming, rushing current in others. Frequently the boats were in danger of being torn to pieces by frightful pieces of driftwood—sometimes forcing the boats to shore, and detaining them until the danger of wreckage had passed. There were animate obstacles along the way to combat as well as the inanimate ones; the mosquito made its appearance soon after the Family entered the great Father of Waters. The mosquito was new to them and exceedingly trying, just as it had been to all pioneers coming into the west.

"But in spite of all the Family's hardships, they never lost sight of their God or their mission to the heathen of the west. Not once under the most trying circumstances did one utter a wish to return to his home in the east. On the Sabbath day they always rested and held their religious services, sometimes joined by the people on the shore. In one instance the Mission Family stopped a group on Sunday who were passing in a boat, convinced them of the impropriety of boating on that day and invited them to stop and worship."

More definite information of this part of the trip is contained in these extracts from the Mission Journal: (9)

May 9, 1821.—Passed this day a prominent point on our journey. About noon we finished our course on the Ohio, and began to ascend the Mississippi. We have now as we calculate, between six and seven hundred miles up-stream to perform, which will be laborious indeed, unless favoured with wind. We passed this afternoon, six miles up-stream, and had very hard work to accomplish it. Sometimes we ascended by warping, and at others by pulling along by the willows and other bushes on the margin of the river. The mosquitoes are this evening exceedingly troublesome. This plague of the flies is new and trying to most of us.

May 10.—It is impossible for those unacquainted with these waters, to imagine the fatigue, and the difficulty of ascending the current. Never did we work harder; yet with the utmost labour and exertion, we have been able to pass up the river only seven miles today.

Today, the largest boat, in endeavoring to cross over to a point on the opposite shore, fell short and was driven back by force of the current. The smaller boat reached the point, and it being about sunset, the two boats for the first time were separated during the night. Two of our hired men fell overboard today, and one of them had a very narrow escape.

May 11.—About sunset, both boats grounded on a sand bar. By poling, warping, and cordelling, we have this day made about ten miles.

May 15.—About sunset, one of the boats had the misfortune to break the iron pin upon which the steering was swung. It gave way while crossing a sand bar, where the current was strong. Our ropes also gave way, and with much difficulty, we reached the shore of a low muddy island.

May 17.—The wind was this day ahead, and sometimes so strong that we could make but little progress. We came about nine miles. This distance will not appear short to those who consider how many points, and shoals, and old trees, and flood-wood rafts we were obliged to pass up the current, and against the wind. From sunrise to sunset we have but little respite from our labours. Perhaps some of the friends whom we have left behind, hardly believe that most of our brethren would subject themselves to the same fatigue and exposure, through water and mud, as the hired boatmen. This, however, is the fact with most of them, and no effort within their power is spared to push us forward to our destined station. Brother Seeley fell overboard today, and narrowly escaped.

May 19.—Passed the tower, a remarkable rock on the western shore, and stemmed the most rapid current in the river. Twice we crossed the river in consequence of the violence of the current; and it is worthy of remark, in both instances we were favoured with the wind just long enough to take us over and prevent us from falling back. This indeed has been the fact ever since we entered this river. Five times we have crossed, and each time have been thus unexpectedly favoured with the wind, just at the moment when our exigency required it. Three of our hands fell overboard today.

May 24.—The river which rose very considerably last night, looks dismally this morning. Never was the north river more covered with ice than this with flood wood. We attempted to grope our way along the shore. At length we came to a swift current, where the water set around a point, and formed an eddy below. Here the rope of one of the boats broke, and the bow wheeled around into the stream. Another rope was thrown from the stern, to the men on shore, who brought her too, and we at last succeeded in passing the point. In the course of the afternoon, our boats were repeatedly struck by floating logs, and whirled around into the current. With great difficulty made this day about six miles.

May 29.—Having a favourable wind today, we proceeded about fifteen miles. After the wind left us, Brother Pixley, having his pole placed upon a rock under water, and pushing with all his strength, the pole slipped unexpectedly, and he plunged headlong into the water.

This morning we found several families destitute of the scriptures, and anxious to obtain them. We gave them two Bibles and a number of Tracts, and they in turn supplied us with a pail of milk.

June 1.—This morning before day, although our boats were fastened in a safe and commodious place, a tremendous raft of trees came driving in upon us. Some of the family were greatly frightened, but were mercifully preserved from injury. The wind as well as the flood is very strong against us. Found it impossible to go forward. Brothers Dodge and Pixley took this opportunity to walk to St. Louis, about twelve miles, to make the necessary arrangements, that the family might not be detained there.

June 2.—Brothers Dodge and Pixley devoted this day to business in St. Louis. Waited on Gov. Clark, and presented to him the papers from the government. Found him favourably disposed toward our mission, and willing to afford any assistance in his power.

June 4.—This morning the Younger Chautau, sub-agent for Indian affairs, who was with the Indians in Washington last summer, arrived in seven days from the Osage villages. We had an interview with him and his father, a man of great influence with the Indians, together with Gov. Clark. Two of the young Chautaus are about to move their families into the Osage country. This subagent is one of the two, and he seems interested to have us go forward.

June 5.—Arrived at St. Louis with the boats about noon. Most of the family were invited on shore, and cordially entertained by a few Christian friends.

June 6.—Concluded to send some of the females and children to St. Charles by land, it being distant about 20 miles by land, and 50 by water.

The Last Lap of the Journey.

The trip up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Osage River was laborious, but otherwise uneventful; but the Osage River was not

so favorable. Sand bars and rapids in low water, and a very strong current after rains caused delays but no serious trouble until they reached the upper rapids near Halley's Bluff where the women and children were detained with the boats while the men went on to make preparations for their new and permanent location.

The Mission Journal tells this about the trip from St. Charles to their destination: (10)

June 9, 1821—This day we entered the Missouri. At the mouth of the river we found a small settlement entirely destitute of the privileges of the Gospel. At the pressing request of the people a discourse was delivered to them by Brother Dodge.

June 10.—Attended public worship near our boats, on the banks. A number of the inhabitants united with us. Distributed one Bible and a number of Tracts.

June 12.—Passed a number of French families, who were destitute of the scriptures. Among the whole there were only two who could read—an old man and a little boy. Gave them two Bibles and a Testament. It was pleasing to see the whole of them gather around the old man to hear him read. In the afternoon the wind was favourable, and we sailed very pleasantly into St. Charles.

June 13.—The legislature of Missouri are now in session in St. Charles. His excellency, Governor McNair requested the official papers we had brought from the Missionary Society and the General Government, for his own perusal, that he might fully understand the extent and object of our mission. The request was readily granted, and when he had obtained them, he laid them before the legislature for their consideration. The governor manifested a disposition favourable to our mission, and appeared solicitous that the legislature should befriend the object. We received donations from the governor and a number of people of the place.

At 1 o'clock the Mission family assembled at their boats, and the Governor of Missouri, with a number of the people of St. Charles, convened on the bank of the river, when Rev. Mr. Robinson made a very appropriate address, and led us to the Throne of Grace in prayer; after which the Mission Family sang a farewell hymn and proceeded on their voyage.

June 17.—This morning all nature seems to be in the act to praise God. We are in the wilderness, but not a very pleasant country. When we met for public worship, a number of people from each side of the river assembled with us. At the solicitation of some of these people, two Bibles and a Hymn book were given to them.

June 19.—Found difficulty in passing some bars. Our second boat grounded on one, and cost three hours of all hands to get her off. Found a family destitute of the scriptures, and gave them a Bible, three Testaments and some Tracts.

June 20.—Move on favourably about 14 miles. Supplied a destitute family with a Bible.

June 25.—We moved slowly to the mouth of the Gasconade. In attempting to cross its mouth, the second boat just gained the other side, but the first boat was taken by the current and carried nearly a mile before we could make the shore.

June 30.—This day we moved about 14 miles up the Osage. We find it a beautiful stream.

July 2.—This morning one of our hands went out, and in a short time brought us a fine deer for our refreshment. Two of our hands left us to return home.

10. Same, August 1821, p. 68; March 1822, p. 357-8; April 1822, pp. 404-5.

July 4.—Passed a cave where there are several men employed in making salt-petre. Passed also two or three Indian camps, and although deserted, yet they excited much curiosity among our family.

July 11.—Passed the Younger river at the mouth of which we found a number of people with small boats, who were there for the purpose of trading with the Indians who reside about twenty miles up the river.

July 14.—The water rose during the night, about three feet. It has come in season to help us up the Grand Rapid. May we ever notice the hand of Providence which has appeared at this instant of time to assist us on our way. We have abundant reason to notice with gratitude the general state of health which prevails in our Family, and among all the hands employed by the Board.

August 2.—Passed the Little Osage river, and opened our eyes on a beautiful prairie. Came to Chaiteau's establishment, where we found a number of families of Osage Indians. We had an interview with them, and made known the object of our visit. They gathered around us in a friendly manner, and their countenances apparently brightened with gladness at our arrival. Having ascertained that most of the Chiefs and Warriors of the tribe were absent on a hunt, we moved on a little above Chaiteau's settlement and landed for the present.

This evening was especially devoted to thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God for the rich display of his goodness, as manifested to our Mission Family on our long and fatiguing journey. Notwithstanding He has spoken to us in sickness and in death, yet he has not suffered any of these things to impede our march; and although our progress has been slow, yet it has been safe. Not a bone has been broken, nor a joint misplaced in all our journey.

It was decided that Brothers Dodge, Newton and Jones go to the place where Mr. Sibley is erecting a trading establishment, and that Brothers Pixley, Austin and Bright examine the banks of the Little Osage.

August 3—This morning one of the Indians was employed to go in pursuit of the Chiefs, and invite them to a Council. We furnished him with a letter, and with some provisions, and tobacco. . . . No good situation was found on the Little Osage.

August 4—Eight of our hands left us to return to St. Louis.

August 6—This day most of the brethren went up to the United States Factory to take another look for a situation for our establishment, and found a place which all think very suitable for the object. Here we met with Mr. Williams (William Sherley Williams, later known as the Mountain Man) who is appointed interpreter at the factory.

August 7—We concluded to make further trial to get our boats up the stream. Unloaded part of the goods on board the first boat, and worked half the day, but could not effect our object. . . . As we have been informed that it is the general wish of the Indians that we should establish on the very spot which we ourselves have selected, we resolved to convey our goods to the station in a skiff, and build a warehouse without delay.

August 8—This morning we set two men and a boy to a skiff, while a number of the brethren went up to our intended station to cut timber and begin our establishment.

August 9—Brothers Newton and Bright took their departure for the Missouri to purchase horses, oxen and cows. Today we plant potatoes.

August 11—After labouring until towards night, we returned to our boats where we found the chiefs of the Osages assembled together with near seventy of their people, anxious to attend immediately to the business of the establishment. But as the night was coming on, and the Sabbath approaching, we gave them to understand that they must wait until Monday; for we professed to regard the Sabbath as holy time, and we could not attend to worldly business on that day. They stated they could stay until Monday; but they were destitute of provisions. We then turned them out provisions for their support.

August 12— . . . We invited them (the Indians) to remain with us through the Sabbath, to which they readily agreed. We went on shore and held public worship among the Indians; and although they could not understand our speech, yet they could form some idea of the propriety of our worship.

Had a talk this evening with Big Soldier. He asked us how long we expected to remain with them. We replied, "As long as we live." He said he now saw us we are men; and had the appearance of good men; but he wanted to see us next year, and the year after, and in about three years he could judge better whether we were good men. He said that when he was off on his hunt after buffalos, and he heard that the missionaries were coming to them, and on his return he met a man who told him that the missionaries had come, but, said he, they have bad hearts, but he was now convinced, as far as he had become acquainted, that what that man had told him was false. We tried to turn his attention to the education of his children, but to this he made many objections, yet he thought it full likely he should be one of the first to send children to the school when we are ready to receive them.

August 13—We assembled our family, old and young, on the deck of our boats, and the Indian chiefs came on board, and in token of friendship, shook hands with the whole. We then repaired to the spot in which we proposed to erect our establishment, in order to hold our council. Previously to entering on business, we invoked the gracious benediction to rest upon us in our deliberations. After reading all the papers necessary from the general government, and expressed something with regard to our site, the chiefs expressed satisfaction, and pointed out the bounds of a certain tract of land for our accommodation. On this tract we have the best millseat without doubt in this part of the country; a large quantity of excellent timber; several creeks of water; quantities of limestone and coal; and a great abundance of prairie land as good as could be asked for. This site is bounded south by the main branch of the Osage river, immediately on the bank of which we have a most beautiful spot on which to erect our buildings. In this grant there are perhaps fifteen thousand acres of land. A deed to this is to be given when we can get time to survey it.

August 15—Our boats are seven or eight miles down stream, and cannot at present be moved nearer. We keep three hands busy in running the skiff to fetch up such things as are immediately necessary, and to move our females and the feeble part of the family.

August 19—Today we held public worship at our station under the shade of some oak trees.

August 21—Several members of our family and three of our hired men are attacked with the ague and fever.

August 25—This day we finished unloading our boats. It has been a heavy job, as we had to raise our goods up a very steep bank. We have them now secure under shelter. The family have all left the boats, and arrived at the station. We are now dwelling in tents.

The Strange Land.

The missionary family arrived in the land of the Osages at a season just before the summer's heat began to wane. It had not been an unusual summer, and their respite, after their arduous journey with the clumsy keel-boats, gave them an opportunity to enjoy a survey of the land of their futurity. They could see a long way off across the smooth grassy fields, which on one side reached off into a vanishing distance, while on the other hand it extended down to Halley's Bluff.⁽¹¹⁾ Here and there they were dotted with clusters of crude tepees of the primitive people of primordial ways. But how strange and unfamiliar everything seemed! They were standing on the threshold, or more properly speaking, in the midst of a new and strange land, inhabited by a strange and very different people, following strange and unusual customs, clothed sparsely in a strange and unusual manner. The billowing waves witnessed along the Atlantic seaboard as the mission family started on its momentous and historic westward journey, had their counterpart in the more symmetrical waves of the blue-stem grass of the prairie; only here they were not blue like the ocean or as the name of the tall waving grass indicated, but were of a russet hue, showing evidence of the ripening of a summer's sun. But there was, nevertheless, a glorious intoxicating sense of solitude out there in the vast untilled land where the sweet shades of a mysterious long ago, soft, silent-like, still solemnly linger; and the spirit of that land now seemed to reach out a glad hand to welcome those newcomers, now so full of life, hope, and expectations.

In this beautiful, mystic land dwelt the Osages, a primitive, unprogressive and unhappy people, with age-old customs which were deep-rooted and sincerely firm; customs, crude as they were, and queer as they seemed, which were the culmination of generations of traditions, and the outgrowth of environment and necessity; of evolution as it were. These were just as real to them and just as much a part of their lives as the more modern customs were to the educated, cultured East. Although strangely unfamiliar, always queer, and sometimes repulsive, the Osage customs had been built up from an unknown antiquity, according to the light of their minds and of their teachers. Believing themselves to be the social equals of the best of their race, the consciousness of the Osages classed their own customs and ways as good, for they were the best they knew. If we delve far back into the pages of history, we may find some of our own race not far superior.

11. Hally's Bluff is on the south bank of the Osage river, in Blue Mountain Township, Vernon county, Missouri. It is more than 100 feet above the level of the land, and extends along the bank or the river for half a mile. It is mostly of stone.—Holcomb's History of Vernon County p. 536.

Into this country and situation came the missionary families with their Christian customs, traditions and beliefs almost diametrically opposed to those they were to encounter. Endowed with greater intelligence, which had been enriched by the training of skilled hands and minds, and by the unmatched influences of Christianity, they came with the desire and determination to substitute their own customs and beliefs which were to the Osages, just as queer, and, as one chief said, as "crazy" as theirs were to the whites. It is easy to see that the missionaries have no easy task ahead in their efforts to substitute the wisdom of Christian civilization for the burdens of superstition. The veil of the future could not be lifted to reveal the nature or the extent of the clashes of cultures, or the collisions of Christianity with paganism, nor even reveal the hidden forces of nature with which these new pioneers would have to contend.

There was however much rejoicing when the Mission Family entered their "Promised Land," the goal for which they had been toiling for these several weeks of their long journey westward. It was here that they were to begin the fulfillment of their life ambitions to spread the light of the kingdom of God into the dark corners of this heathen land of wild wanderers. There was rejoicing too in the Osage country over the announced arrival of the Mission Family who were coming, at their solicitation, to help their people to better ways. While a courier hastened to summon the main body of the Osages, now on a hunt, those at home came to the boats with smiling faces and gestures of friendly welcome, their only methods of voicing their sentiments.

Chief Sans Nerf, accompanied by his followers, hastened home from the hunting grounds, elated at the fulfillment of his trip to Washington, to proffer his aid in compliance with his promise to Dr. Milledoler. By his acts he proved the sincerity of his promise, and won the confidence and friendship of those who had come at his request, on a benevolent mission to his people. Freely he tendered the choicest spot in his land for the location of their future home and the center of their future activities. There was evidence of gladness and good cheer at the successful progress of events; but alas, as always, there soon came trials and tribulations to mar the happiness. But let's linger yet for a while about pleasanter things, and learn more about this new western home.

Mr. Sprague, writing to his brother in Brooklyn, August 20, 1821, gave this description of the new home site of the Mission: (12)

Were I to speak in suitable terms of our site, you would accuse me of exaggeration. Our buildings will be erected on the river's bank, but sufficiently remote to give us a spacious and handsome green in front. In the rear, we had a vast prairie, covered

with grass from three to four feet in height, and yielding, in its uncultivated state, from one and a half to two tons per acre. On either side of us, we have good timber in great quantity. We also have near at hand, an excellent spring of water, stone, coal, lime stone, and clay of the finest quality for making bricks. Our mill-seat is about a mile below us, and directly opposite to the United States trading house, which was commenced in July, and which will be completed by the first of next month. We are within fifteen miles of the Great Osage Village.

The Indians appear very friendly. They frequently visit us; and we feel the assurance, that some of their children will be sent to us as soon as we are able to accommodate them.

Mrs. Jones, writing to a friend in New Hampshire, from Harmony, August 17, 1821, gave this account of the reception they received: (13)

God has permitted us to reach the place of our destination, and to shake the friendly hand of our red brethren and sisters. Even while I write this, five of them are seated by my side. One woman with a smiling countenance sits viewing me, and says she cannot write but she can speak some English. On our first interview, about fifty men, women and children unexpectedly came on shore to see us. They appeared much pleased. We visited their wigwams. They gave us green corn and watermelons. We tarried with them one hour, then took our leave; proceeding up the river one mile, and made a stop about thirty miles from the Great Osage Village. Here our brethren were much engaged in looking for a site. God in his wise providence directed their steps on the first day to the spot which is now considered our home. Some of the Indians have pleasant intelligent countenances. They appear to have great confidence in us. They say our hearts appear good outside now, but they wish to try us three years, and in that time they can judge whether they are good inside. They appear fond of our children, often clasp them in their arms, and bring them presents of nuts. The chiefs and the big warriors assure us they will protect us from any injury from their nation, and that our smallest children shall experience no harm.

The wide climatic changes, aided by the reaction from the arduous toils of the long trip, were beginning to have a telling effect on the members of the Family. Ailments common to the frontier seized one member after another until few were left to serve the ailing. Building was thus delayed and the entire work of the mission was distressingly retarded at a time when progress was particularly desirable. The Mission Journal gives this information of the first few months spent by the Family in the new land: (14)

August 31, 1821—Today had a talk with Sans Nerf, in which he expressed a wish that we should aid him in preparing a communication to the government, requesting that all white men who have not been suitably authorized, might be kept from trading with his people. Such irregular traders, he observed, are the cause of the young men being so bad. Government, he said, told him there should be but one road to the Osage Nation, but he found there were two—that is, one for the family here, and another on the Arkansas. In reply he was told that, although there were two roads or families; yet they led in one direction. They were sent out by one society to accomplish one and the same object, which was to do them good as a nation. He was also informed that, in respect to helping the chiefs by advice, or in any other

13. A. M. R., December 1821, p. 225.
14. Same. January and February 1822.

way, to guard against bad traders, we would do all in our power. We held a long talk upon the concerns of his nation, and of our mission, in which he manifested many things which are very important. After his talk, Sans Nerf, while partaking of some roots and nuts, said, "You see the diet upon which we principally live." He was told to set his blacksmith to work making plowshares and hoes against next spring, then to plough and plant the ground, and he would soon have a better living. This evening received a visit from Major Graham, the principal agent among the Osages.

Sept. 1—Brothers Newton and Bright returned from the Missouri with a pair of horses, four oxen, and seven cows with calves.

Our whole family are now collected together at the station for the first time. Brothers Chapman and Fuller from Union Mission, are still with us.

Sept. 4—Our hired men are debilitated, and there are but four of the brethren who are in sound health. We are now all in tents, and our kitchen and dining table in the open air.

Sept. 10—Our number for business is this day diminished to one-half. Last week we had four; today two. Blessed be God that we had any. Had a heavy thunder shower that thoroughly tried our tents. Most of our people were drenched with the rain.

Sept. 11—Visited this evening by one of the chiefs, and a number of people of the Little Osage village. The chief made a formal introduction by showing some papers signed in the city of Washington in 1812, by some of the heads of department, signifying his good behaviour.

Sept. 12—Held a talk with the Little Osage Chief, in which he made inquiries as to our object in coming to this place—how long we expected to stay among them, and what we calculated to do. After receiving answers to these questions, he expressed satisfaction. . . . He appeared much pleased, and said if any of the people in his village should steal anything from us, he would see that they were returned.

Oct. 10—From September 20 to this date, such has been the state of the family that no regular minutes have been kept. It has been with great difficulty that we find sufficient help to take care of the sick; but so it has been the providence of God, that when one has taken down, another has been raised up to assist in the kitchen thus far. Our buildings have been for several days entirely suspended, and no business attended to. The Lord has seen fit to make another breach among us. He has called Brother Seeley's child to Himself. In this interval our horses have broken from us, and as yet have not been heard from. Three men came over from the Arkansas yesterday. They are on their way to St. Louis, and they have offered to assist in putting up a house or two.

Oct. 12—The men above mentioned go to work to erect a house. An Indian brought home our horses which had been strayed for a number of weeks.

Oct. 19—Brother Newton returned from the Missouri with several hands to assist us in putting up the houses.

Oct. 24—This day one of our houses was finished, and Dr. Belcher and wife, Susan Comstock and Sister Weller, all feeble in health, removed from their tents to the building.

Oct. 28—Sister Montgomery appeared to be comfortable this morning, until eleven o'clock when she fell into a swoon, in which she continued until evening when she expired.

Nov. 2—This night Dr. Belcher's child expired.

Nov. 10—Brother Dodge's youngest child died.

Another of our buildings is finished, in which Brother Jones is accommodated.

Nov. 13—Brother Seeley's case grows more alarming. Dr. Belcher and wife are very low. Brother Bright and a number of others are feeble.

Nov. 20—A house is finished for Brother Dodge. Brother Chapman and Brother Requa, from Union, arrived for the purpose of studying the Indian language with Mr. Williams.

Nov. 2—This morning Brother Seeley seemed to be as comfortable as could be expected; but in the afternoon, his countenance suddenly altered, and in a short time gave up his immortal spirit to the God who gave it.

Nov. 27—Resolved that by the consent of Brother Jones, he take our children to his home and school them. . . . Resolved that Brother Montgomery turn his attention to the study of physics as he can find leisure.

Dec. 6—Our sick generally are gaining fast, and we hope the family will soon enjoy a comfortable state of health. The business of erecting our buildings has gone on very prosperously, and we are all comfortably situated in our log cabins.

Dec. 28—Saw White Hair again today. He says that the meddling traders who are among them will be a great hindrance to our success in obtaining their children, as they are "scattering the people." It appears evident that there are some traders among them that contrive every plan and adopt every kind of artifice and intrigue to lead or drive the Indians away from the trading houses established by the government in order to gain the trade themselves. White Hair says that we shall obtain some children, but until these things are regulated by the government, we cannot expect very great success.

A Missionary Letter.

Some of the conditions met in the new country are told in this interesting letter written by the Rev. Mr. Montgomery to the Rev. Mr. Herron, from Harmony, December 3, 1821: (15)

"After a lapse of four months, I find myself in circumstances to give you a brief notice of our eventful history since reaching our destined field—a duty which I had long ago commenced, and which had not been many days out of my mind. But oh that the obstacles to its fulfillment had not been so real! You no doubt, have been apprised of our arrival at the Osage boundary, on the 2nd of August. The Indians had not yet returned from their summer hunt; and some apprehensions as to our reception were excited. A few days, however, removed our anxiety and exhibited to us every evidence of satisfaction and good will on the part of the natives that we could have expected; indeed, the chiefs were as prompt in assembling in council, and as ready and cheerful in granting us a settlement as we could have wished. Most of the chiefs seem in some degree sensible of the value of schools for their children, and some of the principal arts which we are to endeavor to teach them; but unhappily, that which was hoped to be their principal motive in desiring the mission, was soon discovered to possess not the least weight whatever in their minds. After an argument of some length with one or two of the brethren, on the subject of one religion being designed for the whole human race, the Big Soldier, one of the most intelligent of the chiefs, observed that, "he was glad we had come, because we would teach them how to make corn soft;" he also inquired whether any of us knew how

15. Same, March 1822, pp. 351-2.

to make powder, and expressed a strong desire to have one of his sons taught that business. Though we are thus obliged, in common with all who have gone before us, to direct our endeavors towards creating a sense of that want which we came to supply, everything which relates to our settlement among this numerous and destitute tribe was in the highest degree pleasing and auspicious. The people have nothing of that fierceness of countenance and manner which enter into our conception of barbarism; indeed the prevalent trait in their physiognomy is mildness and cleverness, and, with respect to the males, so far as has come within my observation, universal regularity and comeliness of features. The country as little deserves the name of wilderness as any in the Union, and nothing but industry can be requisite to derive from such soil an abundant supply of all the necessities of life All that seemed to be wanting towards our actual entrance upon our delightful employment of preaching Christ to a most interesting section of the heathen world, and of training up their children in the knowledge and ways of the Lord, was a little time for the erection of buildings, and the acquisition of the language.

Such were the prospects which animated the first two or three weeks of our residence at Harmony; but oh! we had overlooked the interval of hardship and suffering, not yet terminated, in which two of our number, who had been ardently looking forward to years of service and enjoyment in this work, have been withdrawn by the Master, and have left their partners to experience the desolation which the disappointment of our dearest hopes carries into the heart. One of them was our dear brother, Seeley; who died about ten days ago; and the other was my beloved wife, the friend of my youth, and the chosen companion of my travels. . . . Her death took place on Sabbath evening, the 28th of October, the next day after her confinement. . . .

"Amidst the chastisements which we have suffered, it is pleasing and encouraging to discern evident tokens of paternal care and tenderness in apportioning our sufferings in the most exact manner to our abilities—and appearing from our deliverance at the very time they seemed necessary to save the mission from perishing. So general was the prevalence of the ague among us, that, with the help of six hired men, the brethren were able only to erect a store house and the shell of one cabin; and for a considerable time we had reason to fear that winter would arrive before we could procure a shelter from its blasts. But on the 8th of October, a period which the result has shown to be sufficiently late, brother Newton became able to set out for the Missouri in quest of help, and met with better success in his mission than could have been expected. By this means, the anxieties of several families in peculiarly interesting circumstances were removed; most of the sick were preserved from suffering from the inclemency of the weather, and we now find ourselves in possession of ten cabins, with comfortable lower floors and chimneys. Thus, though we have been cast down, we have not been destroyed. Our friends, we hope, will join us thanking the Lord who hath remembered mercy.

"One very favourable circumstance for us, is the having quite convenient to us the only competent interpreter of the nation; an advantage to which we owe two very pleasing and beneficial visits from brother Chapman and two others of the brethren from Union. He and brother Requa are with us at present, prosecuting the study of the language. The mission on the Arkansas continues to be covered with clouds of discouragement. Nothing but some signal interposition of Providence can arrest the work of destruction, and open the door of entrance to our almost despondent brethren.

"We derive many accommodations from the neighborhood of the U. S. Factory, just commencing operations. Though settled at a distance of eighteen miles from the (Indian) village, we are almost every day visited by larger or smaller parties of Indians. The fine appearance of the children, and the readiness of the parents to

promise to give them to us, make us impatient for the return of the chiefs from their fall hunt, in order that we may present our application for scholars in the first instance to them. We hope to have our school in operation in the course of three weeks.

Some of the Beginnings.

This letter gives interesting information not contained in the Journal entries quoted above, for 1822: (16)

My dear cousin: The missionaries felt very greatful when they discovered a fine mill seat upon the tract of land assigned to them, and plenty of good timber, limestone and coal. With joy they left their floating habitations and pitched their tents upon the spot, afterwards called Harmony, in which they lived until they erected cabins. The weather proved uncommonly wet; heavy rains succeeding each other, and the family were great sufferers; the ague and fever made such rapid advances that, in a few weeks, every member of the family had been more or less afflicted, by it. For three months, there were seldom more than four or five grown persons able to attend to ordinary business.

When the medicine chests were opened, it was found that there was not a large supply of Peruvian bark, and it was ascertained at an early period, that bark was the only efficacious remedy; while that was on hand lasted, it was used with success in every instance; but after their store was exhausted, those persons who had begun to recover, relapsed and a dreadful scene followed. The excellent Mrs. Montgomery had been sick with this disease some time before the birth of her child, and after that event she suddenly sunk down into the arms of death; the infant survived but a few hours, and both were laid in the same grave. The mission felt this bereavement most sensibly; but their faith did not faint; they cast themselves anew upon the mercy and faithfulness of God, and fervently implored that this chastisement might be sanctified to their increasing fidelity and usefulness among the heathen. Their tears had scarcely ceased to flow over the remains of this beloved sister, before the fountain of grief again open by the death of one of the children of the superintendent, and infant of Mrs. Seeley, and one about the same age of Dr. and Mrs. Belcher; these deaths were soon followed by that of Mr. Seeley, who was attacked with a kind of pleurisy which, with a violent cough, soon brought him to the grave. Thus, before the close of November, less than four months after the family had landed, six of their number lay silent in the "narrow house". The first cabin was not in a habitable state until the latter part of October. But in these days of darkness and sorrow, this suffering family was not forgotten of their Heavenly Father—workmen from the settlement below came to their assistance, and before the year ended, they had erected ten cabins, each sixteen feet square, with good floors and chimneys. A person (Mr. Requa) had been sent to Franklin for a supply of Peruvian bark, which with the blessing of God, soon restored the whole family to health. After the restoration of health in the family, the missionary improvements and preparations were pushed forward with diligence and vigor.

A spacious kitchen and dining hall, a large blacksmith's shop, and several other necessary buildings were completed in January. Early in that month, a school was opened for the native children of both sexes, and taught by the Rev. Mr. Montgomery and Miss Comstock. In a few days, fifteen were added to the two with whom the school commenced; one of the scholars was a youth of eighteen or twenty, who had a wife and a mother whose united influence was exerted in vain, to withdraw him from the school. Sans Nerf brought two of his grand children, both lads, one thirteen and the other seven years of age. The eldest was heir apparent to the government of the Osage nation.

16. Pelham Letter No. 7, Chickasaw and Osage Missions, by Sarah Tuttle, pp. 67-75. Copy K. S. H. S., Topeka.

White Hair was the reigning chief at that time. About thirty years ago, a venerable chief of that name, with a considerable number of his counsellors and warriors, visited the city of New York, and while there an elegant bible was presented to him by the New York Missionary Society, which he preserved with great care, and set a high value upon it, although it is probable he died totally ignorant of its contents; however, when he died, this bible and his tomahawk were deposited with him in the grave.

As winter approached, the weather was found to be extremely cold, the snow falling several inches; more than once the thermometer fell below zero; at the same time, the journals of the mission record the fact, that in January, they ploughed a very extensive garden, and fields for corn, etc.

Perhaps you will charge me with giving contradictory accounts, to tell of ploughing in January, after saying the thermometer fell below zero; but my dear cousins, both were true—sometimes the weather was exceedingly cold, then suddenly followed by pleasant warm days. The gardens and fields I have mentioned, were frozen to the depth of twelve or fourteen inches; but on the surface, so soft and dry, as to be ploughed with as much ease as at any other season, while the pleasant weather lasted, though perhaps the work would be stopped within three days by another hard freeze.

It looks remarkable to us that in that country where more flannel is required to keep people comfortable than in New England, all the cattle and horses can subsist without shelter or forage, except what they gather themselves; and in the spring, have more flesh, and appear more smooth and beautiful than in the eastern states, under the most favorable circumstances. Yet I have read statements from the best authorities that such is the truth. I will just add for your brothers' benefit, if they should ever turn into western farmers and settle in the Osage country, they must take out stronger ploughs than the missionaries did, for theirs were soon broken in pieces by the strong roots of the prairie grass, which grew from six to nine feet high, and makes traveling through it difficult and laborious. Cornelia.

The first buildings at the Mission were thus described by Rev. Dodge: (17)

"We have now completed ten cabins for the accommodations of the family. They are each sixteen feet square, excepting the one for the superintendent, which is eighteen feet. They stand on a line fronting the East, and have each a piazza or shed, four or five feet. Our store house 20 by 24 feet, and a story and a half high, is finished, and our kitchen and dining hall, 24 by 28 feet, will be completed soon. We hope also to build a school house and a blacksmith shop, in the course of a few weeks."

Holecomb's History gives this account of some of the beginnings: (18)

"During the first few years supplies and goods were wagoned from Jefferson City, but after the steamboats began making regular trips to Independence, that town became the trading point of the missionaries, and also their postoffice, and mail was carried to and from the office by Indian runners, 65 miles, in a day. On one occasion a missionary and one of the lady teachers were on their way to Independence in a wagon, and while temporarily in camp near Grand River, the horses strayed away. The missionary went in search for them, and, losing his way, was out all night, leaving the lady alone in the wagon. A pack of gray wolves gathered about

17. Letter of Rev. Dodge to Domestic Secretary; A.M.R. March 1822, p. 551.
18. Holcomb's History of Vernon County, p. 149.

her, hungry and snarling. Occasionally one would try to climb into the wagon, when she would beat it back with a hatchet. She was forced to battle with the wolves all night, but when the dawn came they slunk away to their lairs, and relief came with the dawn. On another occasion a missionary was sleeping in a tent, his foot protruding from under the clothes. A wolf crept up, seized one of the man's feet, which he involuntarily and with a sudden alarm jerked back so quickly that his sock was left in the wolf's mouth and carried off.

"The members of the mission improved a large farm and raised a large orchard; a few trees of the latter still remain, and from it the first orchards in Vernon county were started."

Prevailing Conditions.

The first winter proved to be a hard one for the Mission. It was extremely cold, as revealed in the monthly weather reports to the *Missionary Register*; and no doubt it was felt more keenly by the Family because of the hastily constructed cabins, their numerous cracks and holes admitting freely much drifting snow and the biting northern blasts. Miss Comstock, in a letter, told how she was forced to put up her blanket around her bed in order to keep warm. In the same letter she asked her family to send her additional bedding and some old hat trimmings; "the latter thing is of but little consequence only as we sometimes have visitors and like to look a little decent."

It might be well to pause here to consider some of the circumstances and situations in which the Mission Family is found at this time. Its members had come from comfortable homes of the elite New England and Atlantic states. Educated and refined, they had moved among society's best. They could have "made their mark" most anywhere. Yet they sacrificed all this and more, made a perilous trip of two thousand miles, much of it through a wilderness, to locate in the strange land of the untutored, unappreciative savages, where a white face was seldom seen, and there, housed in uncomfortable cabins, devoid of the most ordinary comforts, exposed to all the dangers of the elements, far from civilization and sources of supplies, to spend their lives in efforts to improve the condition of a strange people, many of whom were more hostile than friendly, and practically all of whom were unresponsive. And for what!

The missionaries received no salaries, and were provided with necessities only, by the Board that sent them. If they received anything more, it came from relatives and friends elsewhere. The Osages were more beggars than providers, hence in pecuniary affairs, were a liability rather than an asset. They failed even to cooperate with the missionaries in their efforts to do good to the tribe, and sometimes were persistently repellent. The few white traders that came their way, instead of being of friendly assistance, added more stumbling blocks. Even the elements seemed to conspire to add to the hardships of the suffering missionary family.

What must have been the spirit that animated these people to make such sacrifices? Most certainly it could not have been motivated by a desire for personal earthly rewards. Money and high position, such as might have been theirs in the east, were not available in the wilderness. Even many ordinary comforts were beyond their reach. There can be only one answer: Christianity.

The comments in the Mission Journal breathed the spirit of faith in God, and dependence on God, and a deep-rooted zeal to do His will and to bring into the heavenly fold the unfortunates to whom "the light" had not been shown: all this in the hope that when they come to pass to the "great beyond," they would receive an eternal reward for their sacrifices and labours according to their merits. This indeed, must be the answer.

As each day passed new difficulties were encountered in their efforts to carry on the work they came to perform. Both in their missionary work and in the schools, there was the problem of languages. The English language was foreign to the Osages, and the Osage language was not only strange to the missionaries, but they soon found it did not contain words that could truly convey the lessons they desired to teach. Interpreters were scarce, often inefficient, and sometimes even careless or misleading in the translations. There were no text books in the Osage language, and would have been useless if there were, because neither party could read them. Imagine, if you can, the difficulties of a teacher trying to instruct those children under circumstances such as these. Add to this the interference of parents with pupils, and the consequent intermittent attendance, and one wonders how they made any progress at all.

In their dealings with the adults, the missionaries encountered not only an indifference, and sometimes open opposition, but they found it was very difficult for the Osages to unlearn the deeprooted beliefs that had been taught to them by their revered ancestors for generation after generation as the tradition of centuries. Even the enlightened, the educated whites are slow to do this. The medicine men who had always held high place among the Indians, looked upon the new religion as an encroachment on their work of conjuring, magic and driving out the evil spirits, and feared it might terminate their calling. The nomadic disposition of the Indians that impelled them to follow their long time custom of taking extended hunting and war excursions, during which they forgot all that had been taught to them at home, was also an impediment that seemed adamant. What must have been the great patience and the tact those missionary teachers had to practice! They had to persevere day after day, hoping against hope to be able to accomplish the purposes for which they were there. However, they were steadfast, courageous, and persevering in their efforts,

demonstrating by their disinterestedness, and by the blamelessness of the lives they were living, that they were truly seeking to enlighten and elevate the red men. These all combined as factors in the missionary endeavors which slowly won the hearts of the wayward, and to slowly make manifest some of the fruits of their zeal and labors.

Source of Supplies.

The isolation of the Mission, away out beyond the frontier, made the matter of obtaining supplies, of business exchange, and of mail facilities, a major problem of the first years. Some supplies were obtained from the government factory before it was abolished, but it was even then necessary to send wagons to Franklin and other points on the Missouri, some two hundred miles distant by the then best known routes of travel, for much of the foodstuffs and other essentials.

Railroads had not yet come in vogue, even in the east, and the Osage river was too shallow and too treacherous for use for commercial navigation. Wagons and saddle horses were the only available methods of transportation, and these had to travel over unbroken trails without bridges or grades, remote from white habitations. It required an entire day of continuous exertion to cover a distance traversed by a modern railroad train or an automobile in thirty minutes. Sometimes rain, snow, floods, and severe cold added to the discomforts and impeded the progress. Entries such as these were frequently made in the Mission Journal (19)

Feb. 14, 1822—Mr. Dodge arrived at a late hour last night, having traveled this day about fifty miles. He rode yesterday forty miles; and in the evening, finding himself at a great distance from any house, he fed and secured his horse, wrapped himself in his blanket and slept on the bank of a creek. During his absence he visited the towns of Charaton and Franklin, on the Missouri, and accomplished satisfactorily the objects of his journey.

June 8—A wagon loaded with corn meal for the mission arrived from the Missouri: We hope our present supply will last until our own crop shall be gathered.

April 2, 1822—Teams arrived from the Missouri bringing seed, potatoes, and corn meal. We also received a packet of letters.

April 20—Wagons with meal, honey and maple sugar came in from the Missouri.

Aug. 14—A wagon loaded with corn meal arrived this evening. It came in good time, as we were using the last barrel of our stock.

Sept. 21—Received this day a packet of letters, among which was one from the domestic secretary dated the 19th of July.

Reverend Pixley's Views.

Rev. Benton Pixley, in a letter to the Domestic Secretary of the U. F. M. S., dated "Harmony, January 17, 1822," gave his views of conditions prevailing in the Osage country at that time: (20)

19. These are all taken from the A. M. R. for 1822.

20. Rev. Pixley to Domestic Secretary, Jan. 1822; A. M. R. pp. 434-5. Same to Rev. E. P. Swift, same date, first published in Pittsburgh Recorder.

"Previous to our coming to this distant country, the public mind had been prepared by the communications from Washington and elsewhere, to suppose these a very different people from what they are; and to believe, that, almost without an effort, or a single self-denial, except that of parting with our friends, and coming here, the work of evangelizing the natives would go on rapidly and successfully. We were told of their dignity; of their stationery settlements, or villages; how desirous they were of learning to read, and become like good white people; and in fine, we had almost forgotten that depraved nature is depraved nature still wherever it may be found; and that changes, such as we wished to be the instruments in producing, were not to be effected, even among those who are called civilized people, without long and patient waiting for it upon God. But, however things may have been presented to our minds about the conditions of this people, a better knowledge of their case from actual observation does not less excite our pity, nor make us wish we had not come out for their instruction. They pray, indeed if it may be called prayer, as we were told; and even now, as the day dawns, whilst I am writing in my house, I can hear them at their orgies, when their lodges are set up more than mile from me. They begin very high in a sing-song note, as loud as they can halloo, and then run their voices as long as they can breathe, to the lowest key. Thus they continue the strain until they are wrought to a pitch, wherein you will hear them sob and cry as though their hearts would break. I have not yet learned whether it be some particular individuals who make this their business, as mourning men and women, or whether they are all adept at it. In such a case, they put mud upon their faces and heads, which, as I understand, they do not wash off till their desire is in some measure answered. Thus, you will often see men, women and children be-daubed with black mud. But this is more especially the case when they are going off upon an expedition to shoot game, or to fight their enemies, or when they hear some bad news, or have lost some friend or relative. In warm weather the men go quite in a state of nature, except a cloak around their waists. Many, and indeed most of their little children, are seen going abroad naked, even at this cold season of the year, notwithstanding the thermometer has sometimes stood below zero, and the ground is frozen six or eight inches deep. Their villages are nothing more than what they can remove on the shortest notice, one horse being capable of carrying house, household furniture, and children, all at one load. From this period of the year to the time of planting their corn, they generally reside together at one place which they call their village. The rest of the time, they separate into parties, and stay but a few days in a place, in proportion to the abundance or scarcity of the game where they happen to set up their lodges.

"But I must hasten to tell you, notwithstanding all these things as well as the war, and the jealousies among themselves, that we are not without encouragement in our work. The commands of God, and his promise of success, that seed shall not be sown in vain, ought to be sufficient encouragement. But we have more than this. Our school went into operation about two weeks since; and we have now twelve children from the natives, of both sexes, and of all sizes; five of them full blooded, and seven half-breed. So variable and deceptive are this people in their feelings and actions, that we have from time to time the most ample scope of imaginary joy and sorrow, as appearances before us are prosperous or adverse; for we are little able today to tell what tomorrow may bring forth. But, through our prayers, I hope we shall rest on the promise of God, and not faint or fail; for surely we have seen much of his wonderful work! We are now all turning our attention to the more particular business of our designation; and mine is the laborious undertaking of becoming master of the Indian language. It is not however, that which we dread. Strange as it may seem, never did I enter upon the Latin or Greek with more desire than I do upon this language; and the thought of being able to speak to them fluently in their own tongue, makes no sacrifice or privation appear great or difficult to compass such an object. And when this is gained, I am not certain but that a translation of some part of the Scriptures, and readers sent out from the school as

soon as they should be prepared, would be a most valuable method of advancing the mass of the nation in knowledge, and of improving their morals. Why our communications heretofore have been less frequent, you have doubtless learned before this. We hope the like necessity will not overtake us again. Accept, therefore, our highest love; and believe us still most ready to serve you, and to suffer in the work of the Gospel."

Letter of Rev. Pixley to Rev. E. P. Swift, January 17, 1822, first published in the *Pittsburg Recorder*:

"You have doubtless before this time been informed of the trials we have been called to experience in sickness, and the death of some of our family. At present we are comfortably accommodated with houses, and enjoy so good a state of health that we are all able to appear at the table, and generally make a tolerable meal of salt meat and bread, without vegetables of any kind. And here, I cannot forbear to mention how highly acceptable and useful was the dried fruit which came from the Rev. Law's people, while it lasted. Dried fruit, beans and some flour, are articles for which we shall be dependent on the good people along the Ohio. Meat of every kind can be obtained here in great abundance. Flour is very high at the Missouri, where we must get our provisions; and beans cannot be obtained at all. But corn and hogs are abundant and cheap. We hope, when we get our mill erected, and our farming land under cultivation, beans, corn, wheat, and vegetables in great variety, will supply our tables, without our being dependent on our friends for them.

"But our family is large, and, through the blessing of God, there is a prospect of it being much larger. A little more than two weeks since, we gave notice that we were ready to receive children; and we have now twelve or thirteen under our care, of different ages from full grown persons down to children of four years old. These children are certainly as interesting and active as the generality of children among the whites, and I have sometimes thought they were more so: and the Lancasterian method of instruction is peculiarly calculated to interest them; so that we have much satisfaction in the midst of our fears. If you ask what fears, I answer, fears that we shall not be found worthy or fit instruments in the great and responsible work before us; and that, for a chastisement, we shall be left to see no fruit of our labours, and the world get occasion to speak reproachfully; of the natives themselves, through the natural jealousy of their minds, withdraw from us their confidence, being no more in friendship with us than with one another.

"I would just inform you that there is a great field for missionary labour about Franklin on the Missouri, and along up the river to Fort Osage, or what was formally called Fort Clark. In my view, the condition of the inhabitants is far more deplorable than that of the Indians, in that they exhibit the depravity of their natures in the worst and most odious forms. Surely these advance posts of the United States are more important to be secured in their allegiance to the King of Kings than many of those isolated spots in the interior which are so much under the influence and awe of places around them, that they cannot, like these, if they would leave a generation involved in darkness and despair.

"But, to return from my digression, I would inform you that we are in no way discouraged in our work. Though we have many things to fear, we have more to quicken and animate. And, for myself, there is something so charming, so approving to conscience, and so agreeable to the word of God in this work, that I doubt whether I should feel comfortable, or at home, at any such place as I left in civilized society, were I permitted to return: and, without doubt, my sentiments and feelings in this respect are reciprocated by most, if not all the family. The cross of being Missionaries at so great a distance from our Christian friends is quite supportable, when buoyed up by hope, and the promise of God, with an approving conscience. translation of some part of the Scriptures, and readers sent out from the school as

would rejoice in those tokens of love which should be sent to relieve them. But we need the continued prayers of our Christian brethren, lest our strong tower of defense and our hiding place in time of trouble should leave us to something worse than a famine of bread or a thirst for water."

The Second Year.

The most essential buildings needed for the use of the Mission having been completed by the beginning of 1822, and the school given a fair start, the missionaries began to settle down to the real work before them. More frequent contacts were made with the natives, and greater attention was given to the learning of the language. Every member of the family was alert in the discharge of all duties assigned. Prospects favorable for progress and early Christian cultural advancement so overshadowed all else that notwithstanding the misfortunes and hardships encountered, contentment and happiness reigned, as thus attested by Mrs. Sprague: (21)

"When I bring to mind the time I spent with your family, I can scarcely refrain from tears. Those pleasant hours can never be recalled. But I do not wish them back; nor would I murmur. Although in a savage wilderness, secluded from society, which I once enjoyed, my mind is at ease; and wishing cheerfully to obey my Master's call, and to fill up my time with usefulness, I am contented and happy.

"The Indians continue to treat us with respect and attention. We are favoured with eighteen of their children at school, who are attentive to their books, and appear to learn with facility. While we are teaching the arts of civilized life, and the things relating to their temporal welfare, we hope that we may not forget how much more important it is to point them to Christ, 'the way, the truth, the life.' We hope that our time may be employed to the best advantage; and that we may not be deficient in the discharge of our duty. It is an animated thought, that Christians, in every part of the country are engaged at the throne of grace for this Mission, and the heathen to whom we are sent."

Miss Woolley expressed a similar sentiment in this extract from a letter to her mother: (22)

"You know, Dear Mother, it is desirable to receive frequent communications from our friends. I am unwilling to be considered as cut off from the number of your children, although I see your face no more. Let me still live in your remembrance, share in your affections, and have an interest in your prayers. I have to request, however, that you will not indulge one anxious thought about me, for I have every needed good. Could you but see me and my little Indian children seated by a comfortable fire, you would be constrained to adore the Lord for his goodness to your unworthy child. Yes, my Dear Mother, the Lord has ever been my guardian, from my infancy to the present hour. Let us then still put our trust in him."

Contacts With The Indians

Many and varied were the experiences of the missionaries among the Osages during the first years of their endeavors. Handicapped by linguistic differences, and the absence of competent and dependable

21. Mrs. Sprague to her friend, March 18, 1822; A. M. R., June 1822, p. 491.
 22. Miss Woolley to her mother, Sept. 23, 1822; A. M. R., Dec. 1822, p. 211.

interpreters, the zealous missionaries strove courageously on, doing their best to banish darkness from a people who were exceedingly slow, aye, unwilling, to see the light. Having full confidence in the worthiness of their purpose, and in the approval and assistance of Him whose mission they were endeavoring to fulfill, they faltered not because of obstacles or lack of progress. Many of the perplexities that confronted them, and of the adventures they experienced will never be known, for they have never been told. Only some insight may be obtained from the records made by the participants, in the Mission Journal, of which the following are a few: (23)

Feb. 6, 1822—The Indians have thronged around us today in great numbers. Moneypushee came to see his boy, who had been discontented, and gave him good counsel. He visited the school, and said he was contented; and added that his son's heart was now contented, and he would be satisfied to remain with the mission. This evening a number of the Indians were collected at one of our rooms, and conversing sociably with Mr. Williams, the interpreter. Moneypushee, who was present, sat a long time very silent and grave. At length, Mr. Williams asked him the cause of his gravity and silence. He replied he was thinking about the superintendent and his brother missionaries. They had come a great way to teach his tribe good things; and as so few of the Osage children had been brought to their school, he was afraid they would soon be discouraged. On being told that the missionaries were not discouraged, but that they still hoped that more of the Osage children would soon be committed to their care, he appeared to be in some measure satisfied.

Feb. 9—The Indians are again around us in a state of hunger and nakedness.

Visit from Sans Nerf.

Feb. 12—Sans Nerf came today with a part of the clothes which George, his grandson, wore away. He stated that the remainder of the clothes were cut up by the boy's mother before he knew it. He observed that the boy was still unwilling to return to school, and he thought it best not to compel him at present. He thinks, however, that George will eventually return to us. We told Sans Nerf that this boy not only ran away himself, but attempted to entice another of the boys; and it was wrong for him to suffer such conduct, and especially to allow the clothes to be cut and destroyed. Such conduct was calculated to defeat the object for which we came. We should expect to receive pay for the clothing, and if it could be procured in no other way, it must be charged to the agent of the tribe, and deducted from the annuity allowed them by the government. He replied that they had given us a great piece of land, and had not asked anything for it; and, if we wanted more land he would give us another piece for the clothes which he had not brought back. He was then told, that it was not the value of the clothing which we regarded, but the influence which such conduct would produce upon the tribe, and upon the other children committed to our charge. He was told that if the first characters in the nation allowed their children to run away and destroy their clothes, it would encourage others to do the same; that our usefulness among them would in this case be at an end, and that we might as well pack up our goods at once and go down the stream. We inquired what we were to do in case we lost any of our goods, and knew that the Osages had taken them; whether we should have any way to obtain them again, or should charge them to the agent, and have the value of them deducted from their annuity. He replied, that, hitherto, when the Osages stole any property,

23. Extracts from the daily Journal kept by Rev. Dodge and his associates as published in the A. M. R. during 1822.

they kept it, and he who stole it was considered as the best fellow, but the rule should be altered, and the property in future, should be given up. He was told that we had lost a box of glass which we had brought a great distance for a school house in which to educate their children; that we were calculating to build the school house soon, and that we wished him to aid us in recovering the box, as we had reason to believe some of the Osages had stolen it. He readily answered that he knew where it was, and would see it returned.

Feb. 17—An Indian who had never visited the station before, attended worship with the family. He was invited to sup with us. After the public and family worship were closed, he remarked it was new to him—he did not know what it meant to see white people mourning with their heads down—it made his heart feel mournful too—and he believed there was some good in it. A conversation at some length was carried on through the interpreter. He was told of the creation of the world; of its destruction by the deluge; of the preservation of Noah and his family, from whom sprung all the inhabitants of the earth; of the coming of Christ; and of his sufferings, death and resurrection, and ascension into heaven for the salvation of sinners. At the close of the conversation, the Indian said he had never heard of Christ, the Saviour, before, and he would think more on the subject.

Feb. 24—Many of the Indians were present at religious exercises. Brother Montgomery preached in the morning, and brother Dodge in the afternoon. At the close of the exercises notice was given that a discourse would be delivered to the Indians on the ensuing Sabbath.

First Sermon to the Indians.

March 3—According to previous appointment, Brother Dodge preached to the Indians; a little number, together with the children, being present. This is the first time we have attempted to speak to them in this way. This has been neglected because our interpreter has, until lately, manifested a deciding unwillingness to assist in interpreting sermons. We hope, in future, to embrace some opportunities of communicating Christian knowledge. White Hair, the principal chief, and his uncle, the brother of the old chief, were present on this occasion. They both, after the exercises were through, acknowledged that they believed what had been said to them was true, and that there was such a God as we had represented.

Visit the Indian Village.

March 7—A number of the brethren, together with four or five Indian boys, went to the Indian village. We invited all the boys to accompany us, but three of them declined the invitation. One said he came here to learn, and did not want to keep running to the village every day. Only four of the seven who were large enough to travel could be persuaded to go. We arrived at the village a little before night. When we came in sight, we beheld a large concourse of children out at play; and when we were discovered, a large number of men, women and children came flocking down to meet us, and stood in crowds by the side of the way for twenty or thirty rods before we entered the village. As we passed by, they turned in behind, and followed us to Big Soldier's tent. They appeared far more decent than we expected to find them. White Hair requested that we give him a plough; and Big Soldier expressed a wish for some domestic animals. They begin to see the necessity of turning their attention to a different course of living from the one they had hitherto pursued.

March 8—Had a talk with the Osage chiefs, in which we endeavored to inculcate the importance of locating their new village at the most convenient spot near our settlement, that they might not waste too much time in travelling to and from our mill and station on business.

Indian Funeral.

March 10—Today we saw something of the effects of heathenism. An Indian woman died near us, at a wigwam belonging to some of her connexions. She was turned out of the tent twenty-four hours before she died, and left without any care or attention to die alone. After she was dead, three women came to bury her. We assisted in digging the grave; and they buried her in their own way, painting her head and face and putting a knife by her side. Mrs. Sprague adds: The corpse was conveyed on a sled, drawn by a yoke of oxen. The face of the woman, after her death, was painted, according to the custom of her nation, with red and dark muddy colour. The object of this ceremony is to tell her the right road to the eternal world, and to introduce her among the same tribe to which she belonged on earth.

First Marriage Among the Osages.

March 14—We have a young Indian, who has been with us from about the commencement of the school, who was married according to their customs, a little previous to his coming to live with us. He tried, and we used our influence to have his wife come with him, but her mother would not consent. He said that, at all events, he would remain in school. He should be glad to have his wife in school also, if she would come with her whole heart; but if she could not, he did not wish her to come at all. He did not consider himself bound to her, as their custom of marriage was binding no longer than the pleasure of the man. She finally concluded that she must go over to the village for a few weeks, and then she would return and live with him at our station. She accordingly came back today. We are now enabled to decide an important question in relation to the prosperity of our Mission, and the well-being of the Osages. To suffer them to live together with no other ties than are furnished by their mode and views of marriage, would give countenance to the loose and sinful practice of these heathen people. To attempt to separate them while living with us, would probably be in vain, and to say that one or both of them should leave us, would hardly be consistent with our object. But one of these things must be done, or they must be regularly married.

March 15—We concluded that if the young Indian and squaw before mentioned, remain with us, they must be instructed in the nature and solemnity of the marriage covenant, as much as possible, for the present, and that they be united in marriage this evening. We accordingly conversed with them through an interpreter, and endeavored to make the subject as plain to them as possible. They acknowledged their affection for each other, professed their willingness to be married according to our custom, and promised to consider their connexion as binding for life. After supper and family worship, they were married in the presence of all the family, and of several Indians, who came to witness the ceremony. They exhibited on the occasion, a degree of decency, and propriety of conduct which would have done honour to a young couple in a civilized land.

Visit by Big Soldier.

March 27—Big Soldier arrived this morning. He requested that the Indian children might come together that he might speak to them. He gave them good counsel. He told them that they must be willing to work; if they were not, it would be right if we should build an house with a chimney to it, and put them there on a cold day without any wood. They must be patient, therefore, and willing to chop wood, and do anything else that we set them at.

May 7—Our people returned from the village, having ploughed for the Indians more than two acres of ground. White Hair, the principal chief, was the only man of the tribe who rendered any assistance in the work. The Indians are indolent almost beyond parallel. Perhaps there are no slave-holders who are more particular to have

their hard service done by the negroes, than these men are to have their drudgery performed by their women. The females are subject to hardships from their childhood; they are in general very industrious, and will endure the greatest burdens.

May 15—The Indians came in crowds, bringing their most important stuffs to deposit with us while they go on their summer hunt. They are soon to start, leaving but few, if any, in the village, and will probably be gone until August. Some of the old Indians requested us to lend our guns to the young men. They said a number were destitute, whose children would starve if they could not have guns. They were told that the evil could be remedied in a better way. If they would let their children come to us we would take care of them, give them bread enough to eat, school them and teach them to work, that they might be able to get a living without hunting. They laughed and said nothing further about guns.

July 5—An Indian came yesterday and offered to work that he might get something for his family to live upon. He told us he was poor and had no gun. We accordingly sent him to the field to hoe corn. Our Indian labourer, contrary to our expectations, came and laboured faithfully again today, and we paid him his wages at night. It was painful to have the poor fellow, after he had eaten a hearty supper, offer his money for bread for his family, when we could not supply him on account of the scantiness of our stock.

July 6—Had today an addition of four labourers in our cornfield. Had we bread and corn meal to give them in return for their labour, we should not at this season of the year be in want of assistance. We indulge the expectation that we shall gradually lead the Indians, not only to see the benefit, but also to feel proud of agricultural employments, of which they are now generally ashamed. One of our Indian boys begins to take pride in the fact that he can do more labour than either of our hired men.

Indian Battle.

August 27—A little band of Ioways, having stolen a number of horses from the Osages, were pursued and overtaken. A battle ensued; and several were killed and wounded on each side. The Osages recovered their horses, and returned in triumph; some bearing a leg, and others a hand, a scalp or an ear. Such are the scenes we are called to behold in this land of pagan darkness. Two of the wounded were brought to our station to derive benefit from the skill of our surgeon.

Indian Council.

August 30—At the council held today, the Indians agreed to relinquish the Factory treaty, on receiving a moderate remuneration in goods. The agent, being very unwell, excused himself from saying much to the Indians respecting our concern. He made, however, a short address; after which we told them that we were rearing an establishment, which had already cost much expense and labour, for the purpose of educating their children. We also mentioned that we were now prepared to take more of them into our family than we had already received. Walkimain, the principal chief of the Little Osages, said he thought very few from his village would be brought to us at present. He appeared more indifferent on the subject than he had formerly done, while on a visit at our station.

Sept. 3—Clamore and Tally, the two principal chiefs of the Osages of the Arkansas, have arrived at the factory with eighty or a hundred of their warriors. The object of their journey is to receive their annuity from government. They visited us today, and we found them, apparently, a noble set of men. They are not altogether pleased with their late treaty with the Cherokees. We conversed with them on the subject of the Missionary School at Union. They told us that they had given but few of their children to the school, but should soon give many. They spoke well

of the missionaries, and seemed much pleased to have a mission family in their tribe.

Sept. 5—The most of White Hair's people have gone on their fall hunt. It is understood that they intend not to return to their late residence, but to establish themselves sixty or seventy miles from this station. White Hair, Big Soldier, Wa-napush-she, and a number of their warriours are preparing for a visit to the Shawnees and Delawares, for the purpose of forming a treaty of peace.

Dec. 17—The first corn for an Indian was ground today at our mill. Soon may this important engine of civilized man be the means of relieving the Osage females from the fatiguing task of making their corn soft by means of manual labour. That it will greatly promote their civilization we have great reason to hope. In his astonishment at the form and the rapid motion of the machinery, an Indian pronounced it Woh-cur-do-ka, supernatural or divine. On being informed of this instance of extravagance, one of our elder Osage boys, with a correctness of thought remarkable in heathen youth, observed, that Mr. Austin made the mill, and the water turned it, therefore it is not divine.

Dec. 23—Several Osage women brought corn to our mill, to the amount of ten or twelve bushels.

Rev. Dodge wrote this on July 1, 1822: (24)

"We are not yet prepared to enter upon the important work of preaching to the natives. Brother Pixley and Brother Montgomery are applying themselves with diligence to the study of the language; and we hope they will soon be able to instruct and enlighten them. Our work is pleasant, although laborious; and I trust that we all have a desire to persevere; having the pleasing hope that we shall be the instruments, at least of forming an establishment which shall diffuse light and knowledge among these poor sons and daughters of ignorance and superstition."

Church Organized.

The members of the Mission Family were all devout Christians who had been active church members in their old homes in the east; and since leaving New York, they had consistently united each Sabbath day, and at intervals during the week, for prayer and preaching services. However, they had no formal church organization during the first year of their stay at Harmony. The initial steps towards the formation of a church were taken at a meeting held on March 22, 1822, when it was "agreed to form a church upon the Presbyterian platform. Brother Bright and Brother Newton were chosen elders. Agreed to enter publicly into covenant together, in a week from next Sabbath, and hold our first communion as a church on that day." (25)

The Journal entry for March 31, 1822, says: (26)

"This is a memorable day for us, for it is the day on which the Christian Church in the Osage country commenced its existence. We formed ourselves into a church, by publicly entering into covenant together; ordained two elders; administered the Lord's Supper. Brother Pixley preached in the morning, and brother Dodge in the

24. A. M. R., October 1822, p. 145.

25. Same, September 1822, p. 93.

26. Same, p. 95.

afternoon. The scene was solemn and interesting. May this little band be indeed a branch of the true Zion of God, where we shall delight to dwell.

Hill says this church was organized with twenty members, consisting mainly of persons connected with the Mission families. Commenting, he says: (27)

"For years they worked hard and patiently, keeping up a school, but accomplished but little for the adults. Religious impressions were made upon the children, but the men were often away on buffalo hunts, or far worse, on murderous war parties. The missionaries, especially Montgomery and Pixley, sometimes accompanied them on their hunts in order to acquire their language, which they at length acquired sufficiently to preach in it. The language was reduced to writing, and small portions of the scriptures were translated into it.

"The church which was formed in 1822 received but two additions in ten years, when their hearts were cheered by an addition of eighteen persons. Of these five were Osages, three Delawares, one Omaha, two colored, and the remainder from the Mission families. The increase was the fruit of a precious revival in their school, and such was the extent of it that it was said, "walking out morning or evening you could hear the voice of prayer in almost every direction."

Summary of Conditions.

This summary of conditions which had prevailed at the "Great Osage Mission," (Harmony) up to this time, was given in the *American Missionary Register* for June 1823: (31)

"Our last annual statement of the progress of this Mission closed with the middle of February, 1822. At that time the members of the family had regained their health, and were pursuing their respective avocations with diligence and success. It was not, however, to be expected, after the sickness with which they had been so severely afflicted, and by which their constitutions were comparatively enfeebled, that, during the succeeding season, they would be entirely exempt from disease. To them, therefore, it was not a subject of surprise, that several of their number, in the heat of summer, were again visited with the fever of the climate. At one period, eight adult members of the Family, and four hired men, were lying upon their beds of sickness; and two or three men were brought apparently to the borders of the grave. The God of Providence was with them, and through his preserving goodness, the whole were restored to their usual health.

"Favoured with an excellent mill-seat within a mile of their residence, your Missionaries made early preparation for the erection of their mills. A frame of sufficient dimensions to accommodate both the grist-mill and the saw-mill, was raised early in May; and the building was completed, and both departments were in operation in the month of November. In the course of the summer, a school-house and other buildings were also erected; five fields, embracing upwards of ninety acres, were enclosed; a cornfield of forty acres was planted; and the farm was stocked with a hundred head of cattle.

"The spring of the last year opened with flattering prospects, in relation to the great objects of the Mission. The Family had acquired the confidence of the tribe. The chiefs professed much satisfaction in the arrangement of the school, and appeared to be disposed to listen to religious instruction. To avail themselves of the

27. John B. Hill, Presbytery of Kansas City, Burd & Fletcher Printing Co.,
31. A. M. R., June 1823, p. 163-4.

benefit of both, they removed to their old village within eight miles of the missionary establishment. They were desirous of learning to cultivate the soil; and at their repeated and urgent request, the farmers of the mission proceeded to their village and ploughed a field for corn. White Hair, the principal chief, set an example of industry to his people. He was the first in the field, and assisted with a rake to clear the ground. Several of the Indians afterwards sought and obtained employment as labourers on the Missionary farm.

"In the meantime, the school was increasing in numbers. The children were attentive and obedient. Several of the oldest could readily spell and read in words of three syllables." The boys were also taught to labour in the field; and the girls were rapidly acquiring knowledge of the various branches of the household economy. Several of the latter had learned to sew with comparative neatness and facility, and had rendered "considerable assistance in making articles of clothing for the Family." Two of the boys were solicitous to learn the religion of the Bible, and often sat through the evening to hear it read and explained.

"Such was the encouraging state of the Mission when the unwelcome information was received that Congress had revoked the Factory system among the Indians, and left them at the mercy of unprincipled traders. On the 17th of August, an Agent arrived for the purpose of cancelling the late treaty with this tribe, so far as it related to the Factory, and of closing the concerns of that establishment. At a general council held on the 30th of the same month, the Indians consented to relinquish the part of the treaty, on receiving a moderate remuneration in goods. The salutary restraints upon Indian trade having thus been removed, the Osages were presently visited by traders, who persuaded them to remove, at least for a season, to a distance of sixty or seventy miles from the missionary station. The immediate result was unpropitious to the school. Several of the children were compelled, reluctantly on their part, to abandon their studies, and accompany their parents. A little girl, who "amidst a flood of tears, was constrained to go" entreated her mother, on the following morning, to return to the station and purchase her books. "I wish," she said, "still to read, although I am not permitted to continue at school."

"The ultimate result of the removal of the tribe is yet to be unfolded. It is the province of God to overrule apparently adverse circumstances, to the promotion of his own glory, and the advancement of his designs of mercy to a benighted and perishing world. Our missionaries, however, are not discouraged. They indulge the hope that the event will be controlled by Providence "to the advantage of the Mission," "The Great and Little Osages," says the superintendent, "will now be established near each other. We can visit them from time to time, for the purpose of communicating instructions; and if they are disposed to send their children to our school, there will not be, as now, too frequent an intercourse between them and their parents."

"In consequence of the removal of the tribe, it has become the more necessary that the missionaries should be able to communicate religious instruction without the aid of an interpreter. The two junior ministers are, therefore, pursuing the study of the language with increased diligence. Although their task is difficult, and their progress unavoidably slow, yet your Managers hope that, ere long, they will have made sufficient proficiency to convey to the understanding of the Indian the glad tidings of the Gospel, and to press upon his heart the unsearchable riches of a Saviour's love.

"A Sabbath school has been taught at this station for the instruction of children and labourers. The colored men on the Missouri, were urgent in their request to be employed as hired men in the Family and that they might enjoy Christian privileges, and particularly the benefit of the Sabbath school. They were both anxiously desirous to learn, that they might be able to read, and communicate religious instruction to their coloured brethren.

"About the middle of July a message was received from a few families on the Missouri, requesting that Miss Weller might be permitted to teach a school in their village during the remainder of the season, and promised that a coloured woman should be sent to aid the Mission during the enfeebled health of many of the sisters; it was judged expedient to comply with the proposal. Miss Weller cheerfully assented to the arrangement; but was prevented by sickness from entering upon the duties involved, until nearly the close of August."

Progress on the Farm.

The work of the Mission might be divided into two parts—religion and education. The educational department might also be divided into two parts—the school and the industrial arts, particularly agriculture. Of these, agriculture was by no means of minor importance. In fact, it might be said that religion and education had to depend on the stabilizing effects of agricultural pursuits for a considerable measure of their own success. This department had two purposes—providing subsistence for the Mission Family, and teaching its value to the natives.

The missionaries were convinced that if the Indians could be prevailed upon to substitute the settled life of agricultural pursuits for the wandering hunts that no longer yielded sufficient sustenance for the tribe, the work of Christianizing and educating these people could be carried on with greatly increased prospects of success. The missionaries did not lose sight of this fact, hence talent and energy were devoted to this line of work.

Messrs. Newton and Bright were leaders of the farm department, their report to the Domestic Secretary, June 20, 1822, contained this information of their progress: (32)

"Believing it would be in accordance with the feelings of the Board to hear from the agricultural department of Harmony, the Managers thereof would present brief statements of their labours and progress.

"We have enclosed five fields with a good fence; a door-yard of six acres, on which our cabins stand; a garden of four acres; a potato field of two acres; a corn field of forty acres; and a pasture of the same quantity; making in all ninety-two acres.

"Our garden has cost us much labour; and if we are to estimate the value of the productions, at which the same kind and quantities might cost in your city, we should be poorly repaid; but the worth of vegetables, in our situation, we cannot estimate, and we feel rewarded for our labours, notwithstanding the produce is not abundant. The garden spot was still prairie, and was first broken up in January last. The comparative failure of the plants is doubtless occasioned by the inactive state of the soil, which will be removed by cultivation. In proof of this we perceive a surprising difference in the present growth of our corn. That which stands on the hard stiff sod is now about eighteen inches in height, while that on broken ground where the sod is decayed, will measure four or five feet. We are, therefore satisfied

32. Newton and Bright to Domestic Secretary, June 20, 1822; A.M.R., September 1822, p. 91,

that, when the sod is thoroughly broken, and the ground duly prepared, we shall find our soil of the best quality for the various purposes of agriculture. The soil is a dark, thick loam, bottomed with clay. It will be easily worked after the sod decays but the first ploughing required a team of four yoke of oxen and two pairs of horses, and the attendance of three men. The stiffness, and consequent difficulty of ploughing, is not owing to the soil itself, but to the roots of the wild grass which bind the soil and impede the plough. It is a singular fact that we cannot use steel on our plough shares. This circumstance we could not at first comprehend. The fact, however, is, that the share must be kept so thin and sharp that steel, hardened or unhardened, breaks and wears into notches, against the wirey edge of the grass roots. We plate our shares thin, and grind them to an edge, and use a file to keep them in order in the field.

"The Osages have formed a new village within seven or eight miles of our station. At their repeated and urgent request, we have ploughed for them a field of about two acres. We took with us our horses, performed the work and returned the next day. The Indians were highly delighted with our labour. King Whitehair was the first in the field, and helped with a rake to clear the ground.

"We have experienced many hindrances and inconveniences in our labours, from our experience in the wild culture, and defectiveness of implements. The want of a blacksmith has been a serious evil. The cart wheels brought from Pittsburg failed before we had hauled a fourth of our rails, the wagon could not be ironed; the Pittsburg ploughs were useless in breaking the prairie.

The live stock upon our farm consists of five horses; eighty-five head of cattle, including oxen, cows and young cattle; and thirty-two swine. To this number may be added twenty-four calves and thirty pigs. Since our arrival here we have slaughtered, for the use of the Mission, nine cattle and twenty-two swine."

These extracts from the Mission Journal give additional interesting information: (33)

March 12, 1822—Planted corn, cucumbers, turnips ,etc., in our garden. Met this evening for business and hear brother Newton's report of business done on the Missouri, which was as follows:

Bot 25 cows and 9 calves	\$237.00
12 beef cattle, 4 & 5 years old,	126.00
20 steers and heifers, two-years old and up,	138.00
19 steers and heifers, 7 2-years old, remainder 1,	61.00
2 large oxen, broken to the yoke,	60.00
2 bulls,	20.00
2 horses, good size for working,	100.00
10 fat swine,	40.00
55 domestic fowls,	8.50
Total cost of stock,	790.50

March 27—We have lettuce, mustard, turnips, peas, and corn up and growing. We have twelve men engaged at our mill, six are getting out timber and four are farming, and two are working upon the running gears.

May 31, 1822—We have now finished ploughing our corn field, which contains forty acres, twenty of which were planted in April, and now hoed for the first time.

Sept. 18, 1822—We have been obliged to dig our crop of potatoes thus early, in consequence of their beginning to sprout anew in the hill. They have yielded indif-

ferently. Either we have not yet obtained the best method of cultivating them here, or they will not do as well in this as in more northerly climate.

Nov. 6, 1822—For the first time corn is ground at our new mill, and we partake this evening of the first bread raised by us in the Osage country. This privilege will make our circumstances more comfortable. Our saw mill has been in readiness some time, but we have not been able to use it for want of water. The cost of our mills, thus far, has amounted to nearly two thousand dollars, and the probable cost of finishing them will be from four to six hundred dollars.

Successes and Trials of 1823.

A considerable number of Osages remained in the vicinity of Harmony after the removal of White Hair's band. A regular village of Little Osages was located fourteen miles distant, and other detached and similar bands were near, besides some friendly Delawares and Kickapoos.

The school continued its work with a fair attendance and pleasing success, but the farm could not attract the needed attention of the adult Indians who still held to the belief that manual labor was dishonorable, and that they could supply their subsistence from the hunt. However, the farm contributed much to the maintenance of the Mission, thereby greatly reducing the necessity for the long wagon trips to the Missouri river country for supplies, and afforded a training place for the male pupils of the school. The missionaries found plenty to keep them busy, with their work spread over considerable territory. Part of them kept in close touch with the Indians near home, while others spent much of their time among those more distant, even those over on the Neosho. They also went on tours to other friendly tribes. As a whole, the year of 1823 was one of more settled conditions, thus permitting closer attention to the real work of the Mission. Obstacles and difficulties were still plentiful; nevertheless, 1823 should be classed as one of the most successful years of the Harmony Mission.

These items, taken from the Mission Journal, tell of the more important events of that year: (34)

Feb. 8, 1823—Cold stormy day. Snow has fallen about four inches. Although our cabins turn water tolerably well, yet they are very little security against the snow, especially when there is much wind. In consequence of this, our habitations are rendered very uncomfortable today.

Feb. 10—Our wagon started for the settlement on the Missouri for a load of corn. The weather is now moderating, but the cold for ten days past has had a very great effect on our cattle. We have lost one cow and four calves. Some of the latter had their limbs frozen stiff while yet alive.

March 10—Raised our school house. This is the first frame building on our establishment, excepting the mill.

34. Same, May 1824, pp. 142-4.

April 11—Brethren Pixley and Montgomery set out for the Indian village. They have been detained some time in consequence of high water.

April 13—Three Indians attended worship with us—two Osages and one Delaware.

April 30—Brother Jones removes his school to our newly erected house.

At present it is very difficult for people to pass through this country in consequence of high waters. A wagon and a number of passengers, who are on their way from the Arkansaw to Missouri, crossed the river at our station by the assistance of our skiff. They were out of provisions, and called on us for a supply. A hand came in from the wagons which brought us corn the other day, informing us that they were water-bound about thirty miles from this place. They want more provisions.

On the 9th of June it is mentioned that in consequence of the high stage of the water the operations of our grist mill were suspended, and that they were entirely destitute of bread, having nothing but boiled wheat as a substitute.

June 14—An attempt has been made by Mr. Williams, the interpreter, to translate a few chapters of Scriptures into the Osage language. With how much success and correctness, we are scarcely prepared to determine.

July 10—We were gratified yesterday with having three children committed to our care. The Indians continue to visit us, complaining of the scarcity of game, and not little pleased with being able to buy corn, meal and lard for their subsistence.

July 11—Three more children were committed to us today. The mother appears like a miserably poor, forsaken woman, having no husband, and but few relatives. The whole tribe are talking about returning to their former village near this station. But nothing, it would seem, but absolute starvation will compel them to cultivate the soil. The want of game and the encroachment of other tribes upon their hunting grounds will soon leave them no other alternative than to labour or starve.

Aug. 2—This day brings to our recollection our arrival in the Osage country. Two years have elapsed since that period. Whatever has been done to prepare the way, yet but little has been effected in removing the dark cloud of superstition and idolatry which hangs over the minds of this pagan people.

Aug. 19—The Indians have come to this neighborhood to receive their annuities. We invited the Sub-Agent Shouteau, together with the principal chiefs, warriors and counsellors of the tribe, to hold a council at our residence upon the concerns of our Mission. Mr. Shouteau addressed them upon the importance of their availing themselves of the advantages of the Missionary establishment. Brothers Pixley, Dodge, Montgomery and Belcher severally addressed them on the subject, and were answered by a number of the leading men of the nation. They wished us to be patient, and said they thought we should eventually succeed. They acknowledged that what was said was good, and promised to talk to their people about it.

Aug. 20—The Indians assembled today to hear the talk of the agent and to receive their annuities. In his talk, the agent requested them to decide whether they would live at Neosho, or on the Osage river, that he might know where to build houses for his interpreter and blacksmith. They finally determined to remain at Neosho.

May 27, 1824—Brother Pixley arrived home today, after an absence of nearly eight weeks. He had, in consequence of the rise of the rivers, a most unpleasant and perilous journey. He set out for home on Friday last, in company with one of the Indian traders. Having swam the Neosho, or Six Bulls, the river on which the Indian village stands, they proceeded on without impediment until they came within 18 miles of Harmony. Here they swam the river, and on Saturday they came to another

river where the water was apparently higher. Being within ten or twelve miles of home, they left their blankets and other baggage, stripped off their coats, and plunged into the stream. After much difficulty and delay in crossing their horses, they passed through a prairie covered with water, and in less than half a mile had to swim again. They then passed in sight of White Hair's old village, where to their surprise, they had to swim a third time. . . . They were now upon higher ground and within seven miles of home, but the sun was nearly set, and there were two rivers yet to cross. . . . No alternative remained but to lie down on the spot where they were, without food, without fire, without covering, and dripping with water. They gathered some old bark for their beds and their covering and lay down to gain some sleep. On the Sabbath morning they passed on in the hope of finding a place where they might cross the first river by swimming. In this they were disappointed.

. . . In the course of the day a young fawn was thrown within their reach, and within an hour after they had caught and dressed it, they met a man who, like themselves, was seeking a place where he might cross the river, and who had the means of striking fire. They soon toasted the fawn and ate it without bread or salt. On Monday they were overtaken by a company of traders, half-breeds and Indians. Their hunters had found no game, and they were nearly two days without food. Two of the half-breeds ventured to swim the river, and to convoy a letter to our establishment. The necessary aid was promptly afforded.

Oct. 21—A few Kickapoos and Delawares visited us last week. Their appearance, especially of the women, is much more decent and elevating than that of the Osages. Indeed the Osages exhibit at present a picture of degradation and distress. There has recently been an unusual number of deaths among them; and we are informed by Mr. Ballio, a trader, who arrived yesterday, and who witnessed the fact of their burying a living, healthy infant with its deceased mother, and of their deserting an old man, and leaving him to die without food or attendants.

Oct. 10—A Frenchman, with his Osage wife, arrived. He had determined to live near the station for the purpose of enjoying the example and instruction of the family. Their two children were immediately placed under the care of the family, and admitted to the privileges of the school.

Oct. 28—Brothers Pixley and Belcher left the station to visit a body of Osages 14 miles up the river, with whom the former has resided for several weeks.

Nov. 27—The Big Soldier died at Mr. Chauteau's trading house several weeks since. This chief, it is supposed, had more influence than any other in removing the Osages from their village in the autumn of 1822. He is now dead, and as singularity marked his life, it did not leave him in the circumstances of his death. Over the grave of his wife, he wept and fasted, deaf to the entreaties of his friends, until nature was nearly exhausted. He was then removed by force from the grave to a lodge, and soon sunk into the arms of death.

Dec. 23—Mr. Dodge and Mr. Bright were appointed to visit the Kickapoo and Delaware tribes of Indians for the purpose of ascertaining their situation, and their feelings in relation to the introduction of Christianity and of the arts and customs of civilized life.

Visit Other Tribes.

The decrease in the number of Osages near Harmony inspired the missionaries to seek other fields for recruits for the school and for missionary endeavors. The Delawares and Kickapoos were then located in Missouri, and the members of these tribes who had visited Harmony

displayed a very friendly disposition that attracted the special attention of the missionaries. Accordingly it was decided that Rev. Dodge and Mr. Bright should pay them a visit to ascertain the situation relative to possible future missionary activities among them.

Rev. Dodge's diary of the trip says: (35)

January 6, 1824—Started with John B. Mitchell for our guide. Passed through a fine prairie country, interspersed with creeks, which were lined with timber. Found a small bottom where we were accommodated with food for our horses, and water for ourselves, and spent the night under favourable circumstances.

Jan. 9—At 9 o'clock, we arrived at the Kickapoo village, but all was silent—not a single soul had returned from their hunt. We passed on to the Delaware village, a distance of eight or ten miles, and arrived at the house of James Wilson, who is a white man and the U. S. interpreter. We made inquiries respecting the Delaware Indians, and received much information. This man has an Indian wife, who is quite a cleanly and decent housekeeper. We visited a family in the neighborhood, who can converse in English. The husband is a half-breed and the wife a full-blooded Delaware. They were brought up among the Mohegans, where they enjoyed in some measure the privileges of the Gospel. After some conversation, the woman inquired whether we had brought Christ with us—if so, she wished us to pray with her and her family before we departed. Inquiry was made for a Bible, and one was produced, which we had little expected in a heathen land. It was old and somewhat tattered. She said it was one her father once owned and loved to read. One passage was read and prayers offered up. These people manifest an inclination to send their children to school. This woman has been a professed Christian for nearly 20 years.

Jan. 10—We went with the interpreter to visit the principal chief. We passed a number of log cabins, and soon arrived at his door. We were received with the usual token of friendship and cordiality. We were seated in a decent style, and the chief placed himself in his great chair. Several other Indians gathered in. The chief is a grave and venerable character, possessing a mind which, if cultivated, would render him probably not inferior to some of the first statesmen of our country. He had much silver hanging to his breast. His ears were cut in strings and loaded with silver, and to his nose hung a large jewel, which, for an ornament, must have been very uncomfortable. His wife was very busy filling a gown with small silver brooches, set in close rows. It will probably require some thousands to complete it. The old man, having taken his pipe, about a yard long, was ready to receive any communication we were disposed to make. The interpreter, to whom we had given a detail of the business which we wished to lay before the chief, proceeded to relate to him in substance as follows: "These men are missionaries, sent out by a benevolent society in the east, and by the General Government, to spend their days among the red men, never expecting any compensation for their labours beyond their necessary food and raiment. Their object is to teach the red people how to live in order to be happy. For this purpose they have established a school in the Osage country, and have come to invite the Delawares to send children to their school, or to consent to have a school among themselves. In their school they proposed to teach not reading and writing, but also the necessary arts of business, and in all their teachings their principal object is to instruct them in the great truths of the Bible, and lead them to embrace the religion it reveals. They have family worship morning and evening, call on God for a blessing on the food, and return thanks when they have received it; and public worship is attended regularly on the Sabbath."

The chief remarked that he was "pleased with the plan to have his children instructed in industrious habits, in connexion with learning to read. But he should not like to send his children to our school for he was afraid there would be war, and the Osages would kill them. If there should be a school among his people, for himself he would have no objection; provided all of his men were in favor of it. But he could say nothing now. When his men came home, he would call a council, and have it decided. This however, would not take place until May. He was sensible that the game was almost gone, and that if his people would turn their course, and live like white people, it would be better for them. He has been strongly opposed to education, because several of his people have been partially educated and have turned out bad. He has hitherto been opposed to preaching the Gospel, because a missionary had once taught some of his people that, if they would believe the Bible their enemies could not kill them, and still their enemies came upon them with the Bible in their hands and destroyed them." He was informed that we considered it superstition to believe that the Bible could save them without attending to such means for preservation as the Bible prescribes. The Bible teaches us to fly from danger, and to use all proper means to protect ourselves and dependents from the attacks of all who would unlawfully disturb us. He said, "he was pleased with our views of the subject, and likes our way very well." In reply to our question whether he believed in a Supreme Being, he said, "long ago, before ever a white man set his foot in America, the Delawares knew there was a God, and believed there was a hell where bad folks would go when they die, and a heaven where good folks would go. He believed there was a devil, and he was afraid of him. These things he knew were handed down by his ancestors, long before Wm. Penn's arrival in Pennsylvania. He also knew it to be wrong if a man came to his door hungry and naked, to turn him away empty, for he believed God loved the poorest of men better than he did the proud rich men. Long ago it was a good custom among his people to take but one wife, and that for life, but now they had become so foolish and so wicked, that they would take a number of wives at a time, and turn them off at pleasure." He was asked to state what knowledge he had of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. He said "he knew but little about him; he had heard people say there was a Jesus Christ, and that he was the Son of God. For his part, he knew there was one God; he did not know about two Gods." He was informed that we did not believe in more than one God, and that the Father and the Son were one in substance and equal in power and glory. . . . We concluded, the Lord willing, to make him another visit in May, when he said he would give his answer about a school among his people.

Jan. 12—About twenty-five persons collected for public worship who could understand English. It was pleasing to behold so many attentive ears in a heathen land, and we have reason to hope that there was one, at least, who could feast upon the good word of life.

As a specimen of the female attire, the interpreters wife, after breakfast, arrayed herself as follows: Her hair neatly folded in a piece of plaid silk, fastened with a silver band; her gown bandana silk, with 32 broaches on it of various sizes, some the weight of a dollar, her shroud of scarlet, embroidered with deep blue, pale blue, white and black ribbons.

The number of Delawares on this side of the Mississippi is about 900. Forty fires or families are expected in the spring.

Cornelia, in one of her letters, tells this of the experience of Rev. Dr. Dodge on his second trip home from the Delawares: (36)

"I will close this letter with a short account of Mr. Dodge's journey home from
 36. Pelham Letter No. XV; Letters on the Chickasaw and Osage Missions,
 pp. 107-114.

the Delaware nation with his scholars. He set out for home on the ninth of November with six children, from six to fourteen years of age, some riding and some running on foot. On the fourth day they ate the last morsel of food and were more than twenty miles from the station. The weather was cold and rainy, and their progress very slow, as they had but two horses to carry eight persons and all the luggage. When the night overtook them they pitched their tents, and lay down supperless to sleep. They rose early and pursued their way as fast as possible, for they had no hope of finding anything to eat until they reached Harmony; the rain fell fast and all the little creeks filled rapidly. In a few hours they came to a place where it was difficult for the horses to move along, for the depth of mud and water; through all these Mr. Dodge waded with the little ones in his arms.

"At length they came to the Osage river, and found it as Mr. Dodge had feared, utterly impassable; it was almost dark, and none of them had tasted any food after breakfast the day before. However they were obliged to encamp for the night in the best place they could find. In the morning, one of the little boys was so hungry that he could not help crying; the cold had increased, and the snow was three or four inches deep. The largest boy, whose name was Calvin, said he was not afraid to swim over and ask the people to come down and help them; so Mr. Dodge gave him his leave, and he mounted one of the horses, fearlessly plunged into the river and soon reached the other side in safety. He could speak some English, and made the family acquainted with the circumstances of their beloved minister, who felt surprised to see the missionaries hastening to his relief in so short a time. The children were put into a skiff, and the whole party were shortly seated around a good fire and had warm comfortable food set before them. . . . I hope those children who hear you read this story, will think how little cause they have ever had to complain of hunger or cold, and how much reason they have for thankfulness to God for having made them to differ from these poor little suffering creatures."

Report for 1823.

Harmony, Oct. 1, 1823.

Second Annual Report of Harmony Mission among the Osages of the Missouri transmitted to the Secretary of War. (37)

This mission was sent out by the United Foreign Mission Society of New York and established on the north bank of the Marais des Céigne or main fork of the Osage river in August 1821. It is located about 80 miles south of Fort Osage and comprises the following members; viz:

Rev. Nath. B. Dodge, wife and six children; Rev. Benton Pixley, wife and two children; Rev. Wm. B. Montgomery; Wm. N. Belcher, physician and surgeon, wife and one child; Daniel H. Austin, carpenter, wife and six children; Otis Sprague, blacksmith, wife and two children; Samuel Newton, farmer, wife and three children; Samuel B. Bright, farmer, wife and two children; Amasa Jones, teacher, wife and one child; Mary Etris, Mary Weller, and Harriet Woolly, single families. Total 43.

The school instructed by Amasa Jones and instructed as follows.—The greatest number of scholars for the year past is 35. Greatest number of Indian youths 18—least 9—the present 17, 5 of whom are boys, and 12 girls. Two have advanced from words of one syllable to the testament, and two thus far from the alphabet, three of whom are able to read correctly. The others, all except one are in words of one, two or three syllables. The stud. which have been pursued, are reading, writing,

37. Second Annual Report of Harmony Mission, by Rev. Dodge, original in National Archives, Department of Interior, office of Indian Affairs, incoming Reports for 1835; photostat copy in possession of W. W. Graves, St. Paul, Kansas.

spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and rhetoric. In a word, pleasing improvement has been made. It is true the number of learners has been small, and when it will be increased depends on the influence of that Divine power which operates in a manner imperceptible, uncontrollable, and with or without the aid of finite creatures.

The Farmers report, viz: Land enclosed 251 acres—ploughed 33. The remainder is used for pasturing, mowing etc. Raised probably 500 bushels of grain and a tolerable supply of vegetables. Stock comprises 16 work oxen, 25 cows, 30 beef cattle, 25 young cattle, 6 team horses, 2 saddle do, 2 breeding mares, 2 colts, and 50 swine. Implements of husbandry, one heavy horse wagon, harness for 6 horses, 6 chains, 4 ploughs, 3 harrows, 7 ox yocks, and a supply of hoes, axes, shovels, etc. In addition to these, a single horse wagon and harness. The above described stock and implements valued at \$2940; Improvements on the plantation, \$1060; total, \$4000.

Wheat sown since the last of August 27 acres. Besides the above a thrifty nursery of apple, pear and peach trees on one year's growth, probably number 5000.

The physician reports value in books, instruments, medicine and furniture to the amount of \$443.

The carpenter reports the framed buildings erected are a grain barn, school house and ox stable. All of which remain in an unfinished state owing to the failure of the mill dam and high water which prevented a repair. Also several lodging rooms have been fitted, in addition to the log cabins. Likewise a sauce cellar, a cellar under the kitchen, a flat boat (unfinished) and corn crib. Besides these much has been expended at the mill in repairing and rebuilding what the water carried away.

Expenses for building and repairs,	1522
Do, previous to the past year,	2878
Making the whole expense for buildings near	4400
The blacksmith reports value in tools and stock,	757
Goods in the store, estimated at	5000
Kitchen and household furniture and lumber and house property valued at	1000
Groceries and other provisions on hand,	200
Rifles and guns, 7, valued at	140
Carpenters and shoemakers tools,	110
Medical department valued at	443
Library at	400
Agricultural department valued at	3000
Value of the buildings,	4400
Total valuation,	15450
 Cash receipts,	4723.06
Do, expenditures,	4680.40
Difference,	42.66
 Cash on hand at the close of last year,	40.47
Do now in the treasury,	83.13

The above is submitted as a general view of the property in possession of the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York at Harmony establishment, Osage Nation.

Yours with great esteem,
Nathl. B. Dodge, Supt.
of Harmony Mission

to the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War

Experiences of 1824.

The progress of the Mission, as far as it relates to the Indians, is best told in these entries in the Mission Journal: (38)

Feb. 6, 1824—Last evening fourteen Osages came in to get something to eat. They had left their families with no other food than walnuts and acorns. They said to us: "Father, our wives and children have nothing to eat. What do you think of it? We want that you should be liberal. Should you give us something to eat, that would not kill you." Many of them are convinced of the necessity of changing their mode of living; but the force of long habit, and the fear of being pointed at by the finger of derision, undoubtedly prevents many from making the wise decision, although hunger and nakedness often plead hard in its favour.

Feb. 9—Had a visit today from Sans Nerf, (Little Buffalo) whose sole business appeared to be to beg something to eat. Two other Indians laboured faithfully for us today, to buy for themselves some tobacco.

March 31—Brothers Dodge and Jones have returned from the Indian village. The readiness of the Indians to give up their children for instruction is not such as could be wished, but is evidently increasing. Their prejudices are also subsiding, with respect to the utility and necessity of adopting civilized habits. Their wretchedness, especially at this season of the year, stares them in the face. They have now to pick up a scanty subsistence, and are living almost entirely on wild roots. Corn bears the price of five dollars a bushel. The more considerate see and acknowledge the necessity of a change in their manner of living, and that change is undoubtedly near, or they must cease to exist as a nation.

June 2—Major Graham, agent for this branch of the nation, on his return from a tour among the Indians, and L. Chouteau, Esq., sub-agent, favoured this station with a visit. From these gentlemen we learn the result of an embassy from the Pawnee Mahaws, which arrived a few weeks since among the Osages with propositions of a treaty of peace. The branch of the Pawnee nation from which they came, though latterly at war with the Osages, has never been considered by them so determinately hostile as the more western bands, and accordingly the messengers were received with but little opposition, and on their return, a deputation was sent to them to prosecute the negotiations at the Pawnee village. Present appearances afford ground to hope that the barbarous warfare which has been carried on between these deluded people, may at least for a season be terminated. From the good offices rendered by Mr. Chouteau, in introducing these strangers into the village and promoting the object of their mission, we see the important influence which might be exerted by agents of government in bringing about a general peace among all western tribes. And certainly the influence and authority of the United States could seldom be employed for a more beneficent purpose. For, besides the shocking cruelties, and the useless waste of lives attendant on Indian wars, they are the active nutrient of every foolish and pernicious sentiment in the minds of both the youths and adults, and the most powerful obstacles to the introduction of religion and the arts of civilized life. To cut off the head of a Pawnee, or even to strike him after he has fallen, is a source of greater distinction than the knowledge of letters on the arts of civilized life.

We have at length the satisfaction to hear of the commencement of some degree of government among the Osages. Major Graham, during his late visit to the village, instituted a Council of Chiefs and principal men, and a band of soldiers to carry

its orders into effect. The principal object at present proposed to their attention, is the recovery of property stolen from citizens of the United States. But should the institution be vigorously maintained, it would, doubtless, in a short time extend its authority to the punishment of crimes committed against one another, and may be hoped, through the paternal care of the agent, and increased intelligence of the people, to eventuate in the establishment of a rational and efficient government.

June 7—A committee was appointed to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a branch of this mission near the present Indian village for the double purpose of enabling the brethren studying the language to remain constantly with the Indians, and for leading and assisting those poor people in forming fixed settlements, and entering into the cultivation of the earth.

July 12—Resolutions were adopted favoring the location of the branch mission near the village on the Neosho. (Copy of these resolutions are given under the Neosho Mission heading.)

July 13—At the regular meeting for business the following resolutions were brought forward, viz:

Resolved by the members of this mission that Br. Montgomery, associated with Br. Sprague, farmer, as assistant, be furnished such provisions and utensils as may be deemed necessary to enable them to erect such buildings and make such other accommodations as they may by their own skill and industry think proper, at the most convenient spot at or near the Little Osage village, for the purpose of instructing the nation in the arts of industry and of civilized life, and in those things which relate to the kingdom of God.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, to wit, Brethren Dodge, Montgomery and Sprague, to look out for a spot for location, and to treat with the chiefs of the Little Osage tribe upon the expediency of such an undertaking, and obtain their approbation.

July 26—Marriage is solemnized between Brother Montgomery and Sister Weller.

Aug. 12—A little Indian girl died at the tents near the Mission house. Her mother refused to have any medical assistance rendered. She said she wished the girl to die, and even attempted to stop her breath when in the agonies of death. Such is the effect of pagan darkness!

Aug. 19—Brs. Dodge and Sprague returned from the Ne-o-sho, having left Bro. Montgomery to continue some time longer among the Indians. In their tour they have visited the three villages belonging to our branch of the nation, viz.: White Hair's, the Little Osages, and the Passagony; the latter situated on the Verdigris, about thirty miles southwesterly from the two former, had never before been visited by any member of our family.

White Hair's people with whom we have had the most intercourse, appear to be slowly inclined to civilized life. Many of the men this season have assisted the women in cultivating corn, a thing which formerly was almost unheard of among them. A number of the most considerate listened to the word of God, which was dispensed to them, though in a broken manner, by Brother Montgomery, and with a good degree of attention and candor. They said they could not understand some part of what Brother M. said, and wished the brethren would procure a good interpreter when they visited them again.

The Little Osages, from their want of opportunity to become acquainted with our views, were, not unexpectedly, found to entertain many prejudices. The principal chief, and a number of the leading men said it would be agreeable to them if

a few individuals of the Family should come and reside near them; but they were apprehensive that their young men could not be restrained from stealing or injuring our property. In the council which was convened on the subject, they concluded to defer their answers until they should have an opportunity of consulting the new agent. The next morning they were invited to assemble to hear a talk about God's book, when a respectable number of men gave a very decent attention to a discourse from Brother Dodge, though it had to pass through two interpretations, and a repetition by the counsellor before it reached them.

At the Passagony village, the brethren arrived on Friday, and remained until Monday. The news respecting the appointment of a new agent had already reached this village, and immediately on the brethren's arrival the lodge was filled with men anxious to know when he might be expected to visit their village. Major Graham considered the situation of these people, at such a distance from the other villages, as having an unfavourable effect on their conduct, and advised them at his last visit to remove to the Neosho. They now feel an interest to know whether this plan will be prosecuted by Gov. M'Nair. Here also the people were addressed publicly, and much conversation was had with individuals on the subject of religion; and though, in a few instances, they attempted to defend their old opinions, nothing like warmth or dissatisfaction was exhibited. At no place were the brethren more kindly treated.

During their stay at the Passagony village, the brethren witnessed another instance of the shocking custom of hastening the death of persons supposed to be near their end. It was in the case of an old man who had been painted and attired for his journey to the invisible world, but who did not appear likely to depart so speedily as his friends expected. Wearied by the vociferous lamentations which had continued for several hours, they placed a thick blanket over his mouth and face, in such a manner as to hinder his respiration. It being immediately removed by the brethren, the family waited some time longer, when after performing some further ceremonies about the dying man, they again drew the blanket over his face, doubling it, the more effectually to accomplish their purpose. The brethren having interposed the second time, the poor man was permitted to breathe his last in peace. The worthlessness of the grief exhibited on these occasions appears also from another circumstance; a crowd of women, greatly incommoding the sick man by their noise, and by preventing the circulation of the air, the brethren advised the family to have the lodge cleared, to which one of the sons replied, that when several bags of provisions which had been laid on the floor, were distributed, they would withdraw, which took place some time previous to the death of the old man, and at once terminated the crying of the women.

Sept. 9—Sans Nerf visited the Mission. He appears well satisfied with the treatment of his children. He wants that his boy shall learn all kinds of farm work and is pleased that his girl will learn to make cloth and clothing.

Sept. 15, 1824—We met on the banks of the river, and united in prayer and singing, commanding brother Pixley and family to the care of Almighty God. They took their departure for a residence on the Neo-sho river, near the Osage village. (White Hair's band.)

Sept. 30—George C. Sibley, former factor for the Osage Indians, is now at the Mission. He remarked that "the improvement of the Indian children in our school exceeded anything which he was prepared to witness." This gentleman, as a government officer, has been familiar with the Osages since 1807. Soon after our arrival, he informed us that the Indians did not understand the object of the mission; which fact was soon too plainly demonstrated in the conduct of the Indians. It is from this fact that the little which we accomplish swells into magnitude, and propels to perseverance.

Report for 1824.

This summary of the official report of the Harmony Mission for 1824, was made by the American Missionary Register: (39)

In the report of the Rev. Mr. Dodge to the Secretary of War, for the year ending Sept. 30, 1824, the amount of property belonging to the Mission is estimated at 18,000 dollars, of which sum, the farm, farming utensils, etc., make 5,719 dollars; the buildings 4887 dollars; and the store department 4991 dollars. The names of the members of the Mission are as follows:

Rev. Nath'l B. Dodge, Rev. Benton Pixley, Rev. W. B. Montgomery, W. N. Belcher, physician; D. H. Austin, carpenter; Samuel B. Bright, farmer; Samuel Newton, farmer and steward; Otis Sprague, farmer and superintendent of Indian boys; Amasa Jones, teacher; Richard Colby, blacksmith; Mary Etris; Harriett Wooley.

The last two named are single females. All the rest are married, and the number of their children is 25; making with their parents, 47 white persons in the Mission family.

From the fourth annual report of the Harmony mission to the United Foreign Missionary Society, it appears that the receipts in cash during the past year have been 2967 dollars 99 3-4 cents, and the disbursements 3151 dollars and 31 cents. The stock consists of 12 oxen, 32 cows, and 25 young cattle, 11 horses, several swine etc. The implements of husbandry are 1 heavy wagon, light do, 2 ox carts, 7 ploughs, etc. Land enclosed, about 700 acres, 130 of which has been ploughed and cultivated. The amount of produce from the farm is estimated as follows: 1600 bushels of corn, 450 of wheat, 450 of oats, 15 of buckwheat, 120 of sweet potatoes, 100 of Irish do, 120 of turnips, 20 of beans, 75 of onions, etc.

The whole number of children in the school is 55; of which number 36 are Indians, and 19 whites. The number of Indian children at the commencement of the years was 17; increase 19. Nineteen of the children can read in the Testament, 6 are learning to write, 2 are in arithmetic, and six are preparing to commence the study of geography as soon as they can be supplied with books. Four Indian children have died since the last annual report.

There have been no additions to the church, by profession, during the year; but the Missionaries say that they "labour in hope that a blessing may yet be realized upon many souls ready to perish in this land of darkness." Those of us who are called to preach the gospel have endeavored to spend as much time among the Indians as was consistent with our circumstances. Brother Pixley moved his family near their village last September. Besides visiting the Osages, three visits have been made to the Delawares; and, on the last, six children were obtained for the school.

Aspects of the Treaty of 1825.

The progress, even the fate, of the missions was so seriously affected by the treaty of 1825 something about the events leading to its making is worthy of consideration here. It really was the turning point in the history of the missions, marking the beginning of their decline. Such a treaty was inevitable under the course of events of that period, but the date was undoubtedly hastened by the advance-

39. Report of Rev. Dodge for year ending September 30, 1824; A. M. R. May 1825, pp. 146-7.

ment of some constructive ideas by Rev. Isaac McCoy, (40) a Baptist missionary working with a distant tribe.

McCoy is regarded as one of the greatest Protestant missionaries among the American Indians. He was a bit transient in his work, having labored among several tribes in different states. He located near Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1820, where he was the first Protestant missionary to make his home in that region, and where, despite the hardships of the care of a large family and the ravages of illness, they gave such Christian service as to leave a hallowed memory in a reckless and undisciplined land." (41) He worked among the Potawatomies, Miamis, Kickapoos and other tribes in Indiana, after which he followed the Pottawatomies to Michigan where he established two or more missions. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, with considerable insight as to the effect and ultimate results of Indian policies. Many of the conditions he met were similar to those faced about the same time by the Presbyterian missionaries among the Osages. The wandering habits of the Indians and their contacts with lawless white men of the frontier were not only handicaps to the missionaries, but were bringing disaster to the Indians.

Whether Rev. McCoy had any knowledge of the history of the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay (42) is not known, but there was a considerable resemblance between the ideas back of the Reductions and those advanced by him for the treatment of the tribes in the United States. While laboring among the tribes in Michigan, he "became convinced that much missionary toil and effort was, and would

40. Rev. Isaac McCoy was born near Uniontown, Pa., June 13, 1774. In 1817 he commenced missionary work among the Miami Indians in the Wabash Valley, Parke County, Indiana; in 1820, opened a school at Ft. Wayne, but moved to the St. Joseph river in Michigan with the Pottawatomies the same year. Later he established the Thomas Mission on Grand river among the Ottawas. Here the idea came to him that if he could get the Indians removed from the vicinity of the white settlements, greater progress might be made in elevating them. In January 1824, he visited Washington and submitted a scheme for the removal of the eastern tribes to the west of the Mississippi to John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war. His continued efforts had much to do with the westward removals of the Indians. K. S. H. S. Collections, V. 8, p. 73.

41. Bert J. Griswold, in Ft. Wayne, Gateway of the West, published by Historical Bureau of Indiana Library and History, 1827, V. XV, p. 89.

42. The Reductions of Paraguay was the first systematic and organized methods of helping the Indians to civilization and Christianity. The early white settlers in Paraguay had treated the Indians so badly they became rebellious. Philip III, of Spain, which held dominion over Paraguay, was friendly to the Indians, and gave encouragement to the Jesuits to solve the problem.. About 1610, the Jesuits formed colonies called "Reductions", of Indians, away from the whites, with their own plan of government, and taught them agriculture, cattle raising, and such other habits of industry as were necessary to make the natives self-sustaining and progressive. This continued for many years, until the government and the Jesuits could no longer hold back greedy whites; and even then some of the Indians removed to Uruguay with their pastor to continue the plan. The tea industry of Paraguay was developed by these Reductions. —Catholic Encyclopedia, V. 12, pp. 688-690.

be wasted unless the Indians could be moved farther from the vicinity of the white settlements, where the precepts and example of the missionaries were continually counteracted by the evil habits and alluring vices of the frontier traders." Thoroughly imbued with this idea, and after much study, he went to Washington in January 1824, and submitted to John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, a scheme for the removal of the eastern tribes to the west of the Mississippi, and segregating them on reservations of their own. Contrary to Rev. McCoy's expectations, Calhoun heartily approved the idea, and set about to obtain suitable laws to put it into effect. (43) Out of the agitation following the visit of Rev. McCoy to Washington, came this section in a special message of President Monroe to congress, January 27, 1825: (44)

"Being deeply impressed with the opinion that the removal of the Indian tribes from the lands which they now occupy within the limits of the several states and territories to the country lying westward and northward thereof, and may be accomplished on conditions and in a manner to promote the interest and happiness of those tribes, the attention of the government has been long drawn with great solicitude to the object.

"The great object to be accomplished is the removal of these tribes to the territory designated on conditions which shall be satisfactory to themselves and honorable to the U. S. This can be done only by conveying to each tribe a good title to an adequate portion of land to which it may consent to remove, and by providing for them a system of internal government which shall protect their property from invasion, and, by the regular progress of improvement and civilization, prevent that degeneracy which has generally marked the transition from one to the other state.

" . . . Satisfied I also am that the removal proposed is not only practical but that the advantages attending it to the Indians may be made so apparent to them that all the tribes, even those most opposed, may be induced to accede to it at no very distant day.

" . . . It is not doubted that this arrangement will present considerations of sufficient force to surmount all their prejudices in favor of the soil of their nativity, however strong that may be. Their elders have sufficient intelligence to discern the certain progress of events in the present train, and sufficient virtue, by yielding to monetary sacrifices, to protect their families and posterity from inevitable destruction. They will also perceive that they may thus attain an elevation to which as communities they could not otherwise aspire."

The McCoy ideas had the condition and betterment of the Indians in mind, with a secondary consideration of making room for more white emigrants on the lands from which the Indians were to be removed. The proposition of removal, however, met with serious consideration by the people of the regions from which the Indians were to be removed, and likewise from many of the Indians themselves. The legislatures of some states adopted resolutions strongly protesting against

43. Andreas' History of Kansas, p. 68.

44. Messages and Papers of the Presidents, V. 2, pp. 280-2; Bureau of National Literature and Art, Washington, D. C., 1905.

it, and people sent memorials of protest to congress. The loss to communities from the payment of Indian annuities was by these people considered of more impotence than the welfare of the red men. Wild stories of the barrenness of the country proposed for them were circulated among the Indians; this, added to the traditional reluctance of many Indians to leave the land of their ancestors, brought forth opposition also from the Indians. This agitation resulted in a bill passed by congress providing for a committee headed by McCoy and several Indians making a tour of inspection. The government and the Indians having become satisfied of the suitableness of the proposed country, congress, on the 28th of May, 1829, passed an act authorizing President Jackson to cause the removal of the Indians and to allot the different tribes their portion in the new territory. While on this inspection tour Rev. McCoy and associates stopped for a day or two at Harmony Mission.

The Osages saw the wisdom of McCoy's idea and did not even wait until congress acted before they signified their willingness to treat with the government. The whites were pushing into the east side of their reservation and causing the Indians much trouble, and there was hope that removal farther west and south would rid them of this trouble. The result was the treaty of 1825, in which the Osages disposed of the remainder of their land in Missouri and agreed to move into what is now Kansas.

Although some of the Osages moved even before the treaty was signed, some of them that were not in sympathy with the removal idea, remained along the Osage river for some four or five years, until they were practically forced to move.

This treaty, by removing the Indians a considerable distance from the mission at Harmony, started the decline of that institution. Parents were slow to bring their children that far to the school; and the adults were out of reach of the missionaries. The decline kept pace with the removal of the Osages, and when they were all gone, the mission was closed.

Rev. N. P. Dodge made an effort to retain contact with the Osages by following them to the Neosho and establishing the Boudinot Mission. There he worked alone, and the greater part of the time without a school, hence he met with less than anticipated success there.

Treaty Favored the Missionaries.

The attitude of the Osage mind toward the missionaries and their school at Harmony as well as elsewhere, was a puzzle to the missionaries who unselfishly labored in their behalf; nor is it understandable to the perspective viewers. The indifference of the Osages to Christian

teachings and the schools was conspicuous and problematical. They held aloof from the missionary meetings, and sent few children to the school, and yet, paradoxically, they did not wish to lose either. Some seeds must have been sown in the minds of at least some of the leaders, that developed an appreciation of those institutions not demonstrated by the Indians nor realized by the missionaries. This became apparent when, in the treaty made with the government in 1825, wherein the Osages then living in Missouri agreed to move westward to the Neosho, they made it plain that they wished the missionaries to go with them and provided for the raising of funds for the removal and for the maintenance of the school after removal. Articles six and ten of the treaty relating to this subject follow: (45)

"Art. 6. And also 54 other tracts, of a mile square each, shall be laid off under the direction of the President of the United States, and sold for the purpose of raising a fund to be applied to the support of schools, for the education of the Osage children, in such manner as the president may deem most advisable to the attainment of that end.

"Art. 10. It is further agreed on, by and between the parties to these presents, that there shall be reserved two sections of land, to include the Harmony Mission establishment, and their mill on the Marais des Cygnes; and one section to include the missionary establishment above the Lick on the west side of Grand river, to be disposed of as the President of the United States shall direct, for the benefit of said missions, and to establish them at the principal villages of the Great and Little Osage Nations, within the limits of the country reserved to them by this treaty, and to be kept up at said villages, so long as said missions shall be usefully employed in teaching, civilizing and improving the said Indians."

The cessions made and the boundary lines established by the above treaty are set forth in the first articles as follows:

"The Great and Little Osage Tribes or Nations do, hereby, cede and relinquish to the United States, all their right, title, interest, and claim to land lying within the State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, and to all lands lying west of the said State of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, North and West of the Red River, South of the Kansas River, and East of a line to be drawn from the head sources of the Kansas, Southwardly through the Rock Saline, with such reservations, for such considerations, and upon such terms as are hereinafter specified, expressed and provided for.

"Art. 2. Within the limits of the country, above ceded and relinquished, there shall be reserved, to, and for, the Grand and Little Osage Tribes or Nations, aforesaid, so long as they may choose to occupy the same, the following described tract of land: Beginning at a point due East of White Hair's Village, and twenty-five miles west of the Western boundary of the state of Missouri, fronting on a North and South line, so as to leave ten miles North, and forty miles south of the point of said beginning, and extending West, with the width of fifty miles, to the Western boundary of the lands hereby ceded and relinquished by said Tribes or Nations; which said reservations shall be surveyed and marked, at the expense of the United States, and upon which, the Agent for said Tribes or Nations and all persons attached to said agency, as, also, such teachers and instructors as the President may think proper

45. Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, by Kappler, V. 2, p. 219, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1904.

to authorize and permit, shall reside, and shall occupy, and cultivate, without interruption or molestation, such lands as may be necessary for them. And, the United States do, hereby reserve to themselves forever, the right of navigating, freely, all water courses and navigable streams, within or running through the tract of country above reserved to said Tribes or Nations."

Rev. Dodge Visits the Neosho.

Rev. Dodge's Journal for the summer of 1825 gives more information about Indian mental inclinations, and of the favorable trend of sentiment towards the missionaries. These are some of the entries: (46)

July 30, 1825—Rode to the Little Osage town. Called on the Big Chief, and proposed to him to collect his people the next day, to hear preaching, which he engaged to do.

July 31—The people assembled this afternoon, and gave the best attention I have ever seen in the Osage country, to the preached word. Immediately after preaching, before the assembly had wholly dispersed, a young Osage handling a gun carelessly discharged it. The contents went through the side of the lodge, where members were standing, but providentially, no one was hurt. An Indian remarked that it was in consequence of my preaching that none were killed. Had any been killed, such is their superstition that the event would probably have been charged to the preaching.

Aug. 3—Proposed to White Hair to assemble his people to hear preaching. He declined, alleging that I have given him no tobacco. Sans Nerf said it was bad to assemble the people; they did not understand well, but if I would tell him what I had to say, he would tell it to his people. He then seated himself with his bundle of sticks, and I expressed to him twelve or fifteen ideas respecting God, his government, etc. For every idea he laid down a stick, which is his manner of writing. After I had finished, he asked various questions, solicited further explanations, until he was satisfied. He then counted his sticks and said, "I understand it all".

Sept. 9—Much interest is felt by the common people respecting the grant of cattle and farming implements made by the last treaty. The impulse which this measure has given to their thoughts on the subject of settled life, together with the disposal of so large a portion of their hunting grounds, have had an excellent effect in reconciling some of them to the course pursued by us, in the education of their children. . . . Some of those who formerly considered every kind of labour as useless and derogatory to the dignity of man, now cheerfully acknowledge that it is a good thing to have their sons taught to plough, and manage cattle. One of the principal men, in waiting on the agent, stated distinctly, that he had not come to buy goods, but to inquire what aid would be afforded in his village, in order to enable them to farm in the American mode. He did not profess to be able to adopt all our customs at once, but he wanted to make a beginning, and after they were masters of one thing, they would proceed to another. The answer and advice of Gov. McNair being favourable and encouraging, on his return he assembled the inhabitants of the village to hear, in formal council, the result of his interview.

Report of 1826.

Harmony had its troubles, and plenty of them, but the distance from the locality of tribes unfriendly to the Osages spared it from some of the baneful influences of "wars and rumors of wars," and yet,

while these were not as troublesome as those suffered at Union, it was not without them. However, the effects of the treaty of 1825 were felt much quicker here than in the Arkansas settlement. Indeed, some of the Osages of Missouri had moved over onto the Neosho river, sixty or seventy miles distant, even before the treaty was signed. Rev. Pixley had moved to the Neosho in September 1824 in order to keep in contact with those members of the tribe who seemed friendly with the missionaries at Harmony. Rev. Dodge and Rev. Jones continued to labor with those remaining in Missouri, and with the whites who were beginning to push into that section. Rev. Dodge's report for January 1827, says this: (47)

"We have no such cheering news to relate from this quarter, as you receive from the east and from the islands of the sea. These western skies gather blackness, and the people grope in darkness. The people are in continual motion; their hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against them; and it is almost a miracle that they are not destroyed. They make treaties of peace, and sign articles, according to the pleasure of their agents; but consider them binding no longer than a good opportunity presents to take a few scalps or steal a few horses. The head men of the Osages were taken to St. Louis last fall, when they signed articles of peace and amity between them and the Delawares, Kickapoos, Shawnees, etc., and immediately after their return, they went on a war expedition, as they called it, against the Pawnees; but they killed and took prisoners both of the Pawnees and Kickapoos, and if I mistake not, of the Delawares also, and stole a quantity of horses. They have returned to their towns glorifying in what ought to be their shame. What will be the consequence of this I dare not predict, but I fear it will be troublous times among them the year coming.

"The way of access to them seems to be very difficult. We held a meeting regularly on the Sabbath with the few scattered Osages who dwell around us, and although the number is small, we have apparently good attention, and we hope they are in some measure improving in the knowledge of salvation by Jesus Christ.

"What is finally to be done with these poor Osages, is yet to be known. They are a wild, warlike people, having but little intercourse with civilized men, and much less with those who love and obey the gospel. God is able, indeed, to convert the Osages in a day, either with or without means; but we are not to expect this, but are rather called to a work of patience, of faith, and of perseverance in the ways of his appointment, in humble reliance on the divine promise that the heathen shall be given to the Lord Jesus for an inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth for a possession. Was it not for the promise of God, we might reasonably despair when we look at the present state of this people wholly bent on pursuing the path which leads to ruin. Sometimes when I lift my eyes upon them, I am ready to inquire in the language of inspiration, "Can these dry bones live?" And then when I compare them with other tribes of heathen, who, by the power of the Holy Spirit, have been brought into the light and liberty of the children of God, I hope for the time when this people shall be raised up to praise the riches of free and sovereign grace.

O let our Christian friends pray for us who are stationed in this thirsty land, that we may not faint in the good work whereunto we are called. Respecting our situation at Harmony, nothing has transpired worthy of notice since my last communication. The mission family enjoy comfortable health. The school is in about the

same state. Zachariah Lewis, one of the boys, had been taken away by his mother, and Brogan Hoff has been dismissed in consequence of repeatedly absenting himself without a cause. There are now 24 Indian youths in the school; but there is a probability that some of them may be taken away by their friends, who are trembling with fear that the Kickapoos will retaliate upon them the injury which they have lately received from the Osages. The girls are generally small, but they are sprightly and some of them are beginning to use the wheel, with which they are much pleased.

The above is respectfully submitted by your unworthy servant,
Nathaniel B. Dodge.

Affairs in 1827.

In the face of the many discouragements and difficulties, Rev. Dodge and his associates always took an optomistic view. Even very small gains were weighed against failures, and made the subject of gratification and renewed efforts. The general trend of events in 1827 indicated that unless the Mission was moved nearer to the tribal villages, it must, ere long, cease to be an Indian mission. The few Osages remaining in the vicinity of Harmony had received orders to join the main body on the Neosho, and even then there was very little missionary work going on, outside of the school, in that locality. Rev. Dodge, nevertheless, wrote this cheering letter to the Corresponding Secretary, June 30, 1827: (48)

"We continue our usual efforts among the Indians. In May last, I visited the several vilages of the Osages on the Neosho, spent a number of days among them, and preached in their several villages. Many of them appeared for the moment, to give some heed to my preaching; among the rest was an old man mentioned in a former communication. He came to us soon after our arrival, continued with us for the most part while there, went with us from village to village, and listened to all that was spoken. He manifested a great desire to hear about the new way, and when he caught a new idea he seemed to embrace it as a treasure. He is an old man who has been a great "brave," and stands in the first rank among the Osages as a leader in their superstitious rites and ceremonies. In these things they repose much confidence; but these things he now testified to the Osages were all in vain; he had thrown them away; he believed what he had recently heard about God, and he wished to obtain more knowledge of him. I have great hope that this man is under the influence of the Spirit of God.

"The attention of the people is more encouraging at this time, I think, than I have ever before witnessed it. The school is more flourishing than it has been for some time. There have been an addition of eleven children during the last quarter. The present number of Indian youth and children is 35. They are generally making good progress in respect both to their learning to read and to work. Several of the Indian girls are employed in spinning cotton."

Religious Notions and Traditions.

The Missionary Herald gives this summary of the reports for 1829, on miscellaneous subjects: (49)

48. Rev. Dodge to the Domestic Secretary, June 30, 1827; Missionary Herald, October 1827, pp. 312-3.

49. Missionary Herald, April 1829, pp. 123-4.

"Probably few portions of the heathen world are in circumstances more unfavorable to being effected by missionary labors than the Osages. Their wandering and predatory habits render it exceedingly difficult for missionaries to have much intercourse with them; and what instruction is communication at any time is very soon forgotten, also, when addressed, manifest an unusual indifference to all religious considerations. Their own traditional notions of a religious nature seem never to have been regarded as involving anything authoritative, and were too vague to make any definite impressions on their minds, or to exert any influence on their conduct. When Christianity is presented to them, they regard it as the same useless thing—the truths which it reveals and the motives which it presents, as having no reality; or at least not having any concern of theirs. Hence, they frequently treat the gospel with great levity, and generally with entire unconcern. They are in general in utter darkness on the point whether God has anything to do with the affairs of men; they do not realize that he possesses or claims any authority over them, or that they are under any obligation to him; of course they have no notion of sin against God, and little or no consciousness of guilt.

"The following questions were put to two old men by Mr. Dodge, of the Harmony Mission, and with the answers, were forwarded by him:

"The first conversation was with Sans Nerf, a man about sixty years old, who had been acquainted with white men about forty years, and who had visited St. Louis and the city of New York, and in both places had been told something respecting the God of Christians:

"Before that time what did you hear about God? 'I have formerly been taught to consider the sun, the moon, the earth, and the sky to be the principal gods.' 'Who first told you about God?' 'The old men told me about him in my childhood.' 'Had he intercourse with men, or did he direct their concerns at all?' His ideas were confused respecting God's intercourse with men, but he believed the sun and moon are angry with men and kill them. 'What does God require men to do?' Confused: no ideas on the subject. 'Do you think often of your gods?' 'When a big brave dies, and when we want to go to war, we put mud upon our faces, and look to the sun and moon for success.' 'Did you formerly pray to your gods. What did you pray for?' 'The Osages put mud on their faces and ask the ground, the sun, and moon to help them to go to war and for success. This is all we pray for.' 'Do you know anything about sin?' He appeared in total ignorance of the nature of sin, but said, 'All I desired was to kill; if the enemy kills my son or nearest friend, it is all well: there is nothing wrong.' 'Was you ever restrained from doing what you pleased, because you were afraid of displeasing God?' 'I never felt and restraints from the gods, but I sometimes thought they hated me, because I did not succeed in obtaining the objects which I desired.' 'Did you think there would be another life after the present?' 'I believed that when the body was dead, that was the end.'

"Similar questions were afterwards put to a man 80 years of age, who had known white men for 20 years, but had never heard of God or the Christian religion until the day previous to the conversation, when he came to the station and heard the missionaries preach.

"What have you heard about God?" "My ideas have been that there were four gods, which I could see—the sun, moon, seven stars and the yard-ell—and another god which is unseen, that I do not know; I never could tell where he was." "Who first told you of these gods?" "The old people taught me from my youth." "Had these gods anything to do with the concerns of men?" "If we want to go to war or hunting, we put mud on our faces and fast seven days, and then in a dream the seven gods bring us tidings of certain success." "What do your gods require you to do?" "The sun requires us to go to war and bring a scalp; the moon to bring a skin and to make moccasins, and one star requires us to paint the leader red when we go to

war." "Did you think of these gods often?" "Very often—more or less every day." "Did you pray to these gods?" "We pray every night and morning." "What did you pray for?" "We put mud on our faces and pray for success in anything we desire to do." "Did you know anything about sin?" "He could not answer distinctly, but was confused upon the subject. "Was you ever restrained from doing what you pleased from fear of offending your gods?" "No." "Did you think there would be another life after this?" "Yes." "Where did you think you would then live?" "At an old town on the Missouri; we shall have bodies as here; it will be good hunting ground; there will be plenty of game; we shall go to war as here; different nations of people will go to different places."

"By a treaty made with the government of the United States in 1825, the Osages ceded those portions of their territory in which the stations of Union and Harmony were located, and retired 40 or 50 miles from them. The boarding schools for their children have been continued at those stations; and a small band of Indians have settled near each of them for the purpose of receiving instruction and aid in agriculture and other arts. These have been aided to a considerable extent, appear to be pleased with their more settled and comfortable manner of living, have become in some instances quite industrious, and have given some serious attention to religious instruction. The following remarks were made by Mr. Dodge respecting those living near Harmony: (50)

"The band of Indians who reside near our station have received orders from the agent to return to their country, which they probably will do between now and the coming spring. They have shown very clearly by their labors, what they would do if they had means to do with, and some judicious person to direct them how to do. It is true, their crop of corn has been light the present year, by reason of the drought, which has been very pinching the latter part of the season; but they appear to be greatly encouraged by the advantages received from the little work done for them the last spring. They seem to be determined not to go back to the old town, but to settle by themselves, and cultivate the ground. They have requested me to go and settle with them at the Neosho.

"This was a band from that portion of the tribe called Little Osages, the most rude and savage part of the tribe. The band consisted of 40 or 50 families; and with the aid received from the mission, had enclosed and planted 30 acres of land. Two religious meetings were held among them on the Sabbath, and much religious instruction was communicated at other times. Considerable numbers attended meetings and some appeared interested."

The remarks which follow have reference to the tribe generally.

"We continue our efforts to instruct the people as far as we can gain access to them; but this is extremely limited. It is but few who hear about God or the way of salvation by Christ. The great mass of the people are pressing their way blind-fold to ruin. That they should remain so ignorant, after so much time and treasure have been expended among them, perhaps maybe no small source of discouragement to those who support missionaries in the field. But what shall we say to encourage our patrons? We cannot tell you of superior talents or accomplishments, either natural or acquired, as belonging to your missionaries, which can lay a foundation of confidence in their success. We cannot tell you of their uncommon devotedness to their work, their great attainments in the heavenly life, or of their strict self-denial and their deep humility and self abasement before God. We cannot tell you that they are entirely stripped of self and self-dependence, and that they manifest entire

dependence on God to accomplish the work. We can assure you of none of these things, as the foundation upon which you can place your hopes for final success among this people. No, we trust we need not tell you that you must look beyond the watchman. Then be not discouraged, although we may be unfaithful, or unfit for our work; but pray for the blessing of God upon these Osages. It may be he will hear your prayers, and will yet have mercy on the souls of these people; and if so, then the weaker the instruments employed among them, the more conspicuous will the majesty and glory of God appear in the work."

Mr. Jones, teacher of the school at Harmony, writes on the 9th of December, about three months subsequent to the date of Mr. Dodge's letter, that the prospects of the mission are becoming more encouraging. (51)

"There are now 31 children in our family, 29 of whom attend school. Those who remain seem to increase in sprightliness, and seem so far as I am able to judge, to make good progress in their studies.

"I am more than ever encouraged relative to the final success of this mission. I believe this is the unanimous feeling of the whole mission family here. I am also persuaded that there never was a time when your missionaries entered with more energy into their respective labors, nor a time when a greater amount of evangelical labor was demanded, or when it could be turned to a better account. The small band of the Indians near us are exceedingly urgent in making a request that Mr. Dodge should go with them to their reservation. It has been already proved that they are desirous to hear the good work of God, which is able to make them wise unto salvation. I am also persuaded that there is not an adult among the small band above mentioned who would not say to Mr. Dodge, "Come, go with us, for you will do us good." It is my opinion, also, that Mr. Pixley never had so much to encourage him as at this moment; and I am sure he never felt more engaged in the work. We believe in the final triumph of Christ's kingdom on earth, and some say that the morning star of that glorious day has already arisen. If so, now is the time that we are to expect the mighty conflict. The prince of darkness and his emissaries will not give up their dominions without a struggle."

The Spirit of Optimism.

There are periods of success and periods of gloom in most worldly affairs. These come and go with the ebb and flow of life; sometimes following each other in rotation, or in quick succession; sometimes two or more of a kind together. This applies to religious and philanthropic undertakings as well as to business and social life, and the missionary efforts were no exceptions. Even in their dark moments, the Osage missionaries could see rays of light; and occasionally those rays grew quite large. Indeed an optimism appeared to prevail among them, that surpassed the understanding of an ordinary lay student familiar with the history of those and subsequent years. They proclaimed encouragement and unreserved faith in the ultimate success of their efforts, when at the same time the American Board was reducing the personnel of the stations, and showing indications of its approaching abandonment. Dr. Belcher and Samuel Newton quitted Harmony during 1826, and even the Superintendent, Rev. N. B. Dodge was granted permission to leave in the spring of 1829 to preach among the

51. Same, p. 125.

whites in Missouri, never again to become a member of the Harmony family. Rev. Pixley was recalled from the Neosho in 1829 in response to a request from the Osages themselves, and because of violent opposition that had developed towards him. About this same time the Indian agent directed the small settlements of Osages still lingering near Harmony to remove to the Neosho. Yet there was a spirit of optimism in all of the letters sent out from that section during this period. Nothing but an abiding faith in God and the triumph of his gospel could have inspired such letters, or even given the missionaries courage to work on in the face of so much opposition, and so few successes.

In December 1828, after a rather tempestuous period of several months, during which there is evidence that he was roughly handled by the Indians, and but a short time before his recall at the request of the Osages and of the government, following a somewhat violent controversy with the government Indian agent, Rev. Benton Pixley wrote this in a letter from Neosho: (52)

"I never felt myself more at home among the Osages than at present. I never had more of their confidence; and, indeed, never had higher hopes of success. Some of the principal men told me yesterday they would never think so lightly of what I say to them. I see nothing why the gospel should not take as complete effect here, as at the Sandwich Islands, or elsewhere, when the communication shall be fully made, under circumstances calculated to inspire them with a belief of its truth. Two evenings since, I went into a lodge for the special purpose, as I often do, of trying to communicate something in order to enlighten their benighted minds. After talking a while, at their request, I sang a hymn of my own composing in their language, relative to the omniscience and omnipresence of God, as judge of the world, and with respect to the future state of the righteous and the wicked. But what made the scene particularly pleasant was the fixed attention of two children between nine and twelve years old, who came from the other end of the lodge, and drawing close to me, listened with great interest, and seemed to understand and drink in all I said. Dark and gloomy as this valley is, sometimes a ray of hope so shoots across my cheerless path, that, ungrateful and unworthy as I am, I should greatly add to these if I did not acknowledge that my cup is mingled with consolations neither few nor small; and that the bitterest trials and self-denials of missionaries are more than made up to them, in the inward comfort and peace they are permitted to enjoy. It is no uncommon thing now to hear this people, when they smoke, to call upon God to give them good thoughts, and lead them in the right-hand path, instead of asking for success in killing Pawnees and stealing horses; not that they have laid those aside, but to show that what is said to them is taking root, and is conversed about. Who would think it strange, if, in these days of God's working, this valley of dry bones should all at once begin to move? Indeed, I think it more likely that I shall not be prepared for such an event, than that it will not come. God's promises are sure; but alas, too often his people are not ready, waiting and prepared for their accomplishment."

Rev. Amasa Jones, while more conservative, saw the future outlook as encouraging when he wrote this from Harmony, January 19, 1832: (53)

52. Missionary Records, p. 316; Religious Tract Society, London. Missionary Herald, V. 25, p. 125.
53. Missionary Herald, April 1832, p. 120.

"We are not, however, without hope that these dark days will eventually pass away. We bless God that a brighter day seems to be dawning upon us. Present appearances favor the idea that the Great Shepherd of Isreal is about to take some of these tender lambs under his own charge by gathering them into the fold. For some two months past more seriousness has prevailed among the youth at this station. After laboring for ten years in this barren heath, you may well suppose that even the prospect of some precious fruit would have an exhilarating effect upon our spirits. To be permitted to merely break up the fallow ground, that those who come after us may not sow among thorns, is a high privilege, but to gather in the golden grain is in the highest degree encouraging.

"We are sensible that to labor for Christ, whether in the wilderness or in the harvest field, should be sufficient inducement to active exertion, and that it should be the high source of our rejoicing. With great pleasure we listened to the recent triumphs of the cross both in heathen and Christian lands, and we believe it has the effect to lead us to pray and sigh for the salvation of the Osages. We are so far removed from them, our number so few, our calls so numerous and pressing, that it is out of our power to do much directly towards proclaiming the gospel to them. Our work seems to be to raise up lights and send them forth to guide these wandering souls in the pathway of life. Pray for us that we may labor in this department with renewed diligence and with disinterested love for Christ."

It would seem that Rev. Jones hit the keynote when he wrote, "Our work seems to be to raise up lights, and send them forth to guide these wandering souls in the pathway of life." Their efforts to influence the tribe as a whole had proven futile. The future, in this respect, offered no hope. But there were hopes that the school and the agricultural settlement might "raise up lights" that could go forth among their own people to "guide their wandering souls." These appeared to be the only sources from which any satisfying results might be obtained, and they no doubt inspired Rev. Jones' encouraging words. Could these facts have been discovered earlier, and been more deeply impressed upon the minds of the missionaries, so that a much larger part of their efforts could have been directed that way, a different story might have been written.

Rev. Amasa Jones wrote this encouraging letter from Harmony, January 1, 1833, as his report for 1832: (54)

"Last new year's we still remember, and let it be written 'A day of the right hand of the Most High.' It was then that the cloud arose destined to remind us that God was in this place. Time shewed us that we were not deceived. From that day a general seriousness prevailed. At some seasons the power of God was so overwhelming that no one dared gainsay or resist. The seriousness continued through the winter and spring, but the good wine was reserved until the sacred feast observed on the first Sabbath in June. At that time we held a three days' meeting. It commenced on Friday and ended on Sabbath evening. At our communion season that day eleven, as the first fruits of the revival, came forward and professed their faith in Christ, publicly entering into covenant with him. During the week which included the meeting, eight were hopefully born into the kingdom. On the first Sabbath in November nine more were added to the church, making in all twenty since the first of June last. Seventeen of this number last new year's were living without hope and without God

54. Same, April 1833, p. 135.

in the world, but now they give pleasing evidence that they have passed from death unto life. The church now consists of thirty-one members; sixteen males and fifteen females. Of these who have been added during the past year, being ten males and ten females, fifteen belong to the Sabbath school and twelve to the day school. Of Indian blood there are nine—three Delawares, five Osages and one Omahaw. Of the others, one a French Catholic, two of African descent, and six are children of the missionaries. Besides these, there are five of whom we have hopes. . . . Our present prospects are encouraging. Unusual seriousness and solemnity pervades our religious assemblies. In a word we know not but our present prospects are quite as encouraging as they were one year since.

"Sabbath School—This includes a considerable number who do not belong to the day school. Perhaps in nothing have the scholars made so rapid improvement as in a knowledge of the Bible. This verse-a-day system furnished this lesson for the Sabbath. The learners are divided into four classes—one for each brother of the missionary family, over whom he presides, and endeavors to enforce the truths contained in each lesson. Seven-eighths of the scholars write their lessons promptly, and many of them answer questions with great judgment, and appear to enter into the truths contained. We have reason to believe that in this school, at least fifteen have been reared up to become polished stones in God's spiritual temple. Our congregation on the Sabbath probably averages from seventy to eighty.

"In reviewing the scenes of the past year, on God's part, we have everything to call forth our grateful praise, and nothing to deplore, but what we find ourselves, and the little success which we have gained to the benighted race to whom we have been sent. But we do not yet despair of these unhappy beings. We are inclined to believe that more has been done the past, than during the preceding year, to meliorate their wretched condition. The gospel has been more extensively preached and has been listened to with much greater attention than heretofore. I have made one extensive tour among them, in which I was greatly encouraged."

A Deserted Child.

The Osages, very frequently, not only gave up their children in the manner stated below, but sometimes left them in the woods, or on the prairies to perish with hunger and exposure, or to be devoured by wild beasts. This did not seem to be so much owing to natural affection, as to their roving manner of life and their extreme poverty, which rendered their children burdensome. Miss Etris, writing from Harmony, November 7, 1832, tells this story: (55)

"The little boy under my care was brought to this place when but two days old, by its mother, who had been cast away by her husband. Being denied in the providence of God, the privilege of nursing her child, in consequence of a tedious fever, both were in a suffering state. She begged that some nourishment might be given it, and said she did not love it because his father had thrown her away. A few days after, his father came in with his new wife. I asked him if he meant to take the child and his mother and take care of them. He said he could never take the woman; the child he said he wished me to take and raise up. This made the mother very angry. She took the child away in a great rage. Knowing her character, I felt so exceedingly anxious for the life and comfort of the little sufferer, as to make his case a subject of earnest supplication to the throne of grace and received a gracious answer. After three weeks the mother brought the almost perished infant back and begged me to take it, saying it must remain here or die. The boy is now a fine interesting child; and my sincere prayer to God is, and I hope it may be yours, that

55. Same, February 1833, p. 62.

this little one may be of Christ's happy number of whom the Psalmist spake—"When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up."

Preaching to Other Tribes.

Reverend Amasa Jones was so enthusiastic in his missionary efforts that he lost no opportunity to preach to the Indians regardless of their tribal affiliations, and would occasionally make a special effort to create an opportunity. In a letter dated at Harmony, April 2, 1834, he tells of preaching to members of that band of Pawnees who reside on the Platte river: (56)

"Last winter I had the pleasure of preaching twice to the Pawnees, and was highly pleased with the attention which they gave to the word of life. In some respects they appear to be a different people from the Osages. This difference is probably owing principally to the little intercourse which they have had with white men. Their agent informed me that they were very desirous to have a school among them, and they warmly invited me to go with them to their country. When I told them that this would be impossible, they earnestly solicited my aid in procuring some one to go and teach them and their children. From the best information I can obtain, I have little doubt that they would be much more ready to receive the gospel than those tribes which have had more intercourse with white men.

"The agent just referred to and one of the United States' commissioners, appointed to make arrangements for the emigrating Indians in this quarter, passed through this place some months since, with about forty Indians—Omahaws, Otos, and Pawnees. They were chiefs and braves empowered by their respective tribes for making peace with the Osages, Kansas, etc. I preached to them as they went and returned, and have seldom had a more interesting meeting with any Indians, than I had with them on their return. It would be exceedingly desirable that the heralds of salvation should go before that debased class of men who are among Indians, having it almost their only business to subdue and destroy them. The Osages, fifty years ago, no doubt, had the utmost confidence in the whites; but now they have none. Their prejudices, like an impregnable wall, completely surround them; and, were it not for the wonder-working power of God, we might suppose them utterly beyond all hope of ever being brought to taste the sweets of civilization and religion. We would rejoice and give thanks that God wields a weapon which the enemy can neither gainsay nor resist. The sword of the Spirit, in his hand, is able to put to flight all the armies of the aliens. More of the naked truth of the gospel is greatly needed; yes, more preaching must be done, or all our efforts are in vain. Schools are good in their place; but they are poorly prepared to stand in front of this spiritual contest. May the Lord send me more missionaries to the Osages, with the bible in their hands, and its sacred principles deeply wrought in their souls. Let preaching be their whole business; or let so much of their time be devoted to this work as shall be consistent with their learning the language."

Closing of Harmony.

The first direct information concerning the closing of the Harmony Mission by the American Board is contained in the report of its annual meeting held in Baltimore in September 1835. The question of closing the mission had been under consideration for more than a year, but the conservative Board would not act until it was fully

56. Same, August 1834, p. 303.

informed. It therefore directed Revs. Kingsbury and Byington, who had been missionaries among the Choctaw Indians, in what is now eastern Oklahoma, to visit the Osage mission, and make a report on conditions and prospects as they found them. Efforts to obtain a copy of their report have failed, but the records of the above Board meeting show the following: (57)

"Messrs. Kingsbury and Byington visited the several stations in the Osage country, by appointment of the committee, during the last autumn (1834). While at Harmony, it seemed to them desirable that the number of persons laboring there should be diminished, and the secular affairs of the station curtailed, and accordingly Mr. Samuel Bright, the farmer, and Mr. Richard Colby, mechanic, were released from the further service of the Board. Miss Elvire Perkins has entered the marriage relation with a physician not connected with the Board. . . . The gospel has been preached to the Osages less during the last year, than during some years preceding, owing to various causes."

Notice of the closing of the mission stations at both Union and Harmony appeared in the Missionary Herald for May, 1836: (58)

"Owing to the inconvenient location of the Union and Harmony stations, each being forty or fifty miles from the present Osage territory, it has been thought expedient to discontinue missionary operations at both; and as the Osages are at present in a state unfavorable for enjoying the benefits of Christian instruction, on account of the uncertainty which exists relative to the place of their future residence, Rev. N. B. Dodge, and Messrs. D. H. Austin, and A. Redfield, with their wives, have signified their desire to retire from that field of labor, and have accordingly been honorably released from the further service of the Board. Rev. A. Jones, will for the present, labor in the white settlements near Harmony,, though without any immediate connection with the Board; and if there should hereafter be a favorable opening among the Osages, he will resume his labors."

Hill, in commenting on the above, said: (59)

"Such an opening seems never to have come. Gradually the Harmony church became disintegrated, the Dodges and others forming the nucleus of the Little Osage church, the Jones and Austin families that of the Deepwater church, the Requas that of the Double Branches (Lone Oak) church, and the Redfields that of the Marmiton church. Descendants of these families still live in that region."

Recollections of Harmony Mission.

These sketches about Harmony are culled from an article written by J. N. Barrows, of Rich Hill, Missouri, for the History of Bates County, Missouri (pp. 309-14): (60)

"I was born within three miles of Harmony Mission site, and in the vicinity of Papinsville and Harmony. As a boy, youth and young man, I was familiar with the site of the Mission and the habitations of the Grand Osages. I played about the apple trees planted by the missionaries, drank out of the well they digged, and remember the Mission house well. It was a large two story building, weatherboarded with

57. Same, January 1836, p. 25; Annual Report of A. B. C. F. M.

58. Same, May 1836, p. 194.

59. John B. Hill, Presbytery of Kansas City, p. 102.

60. Atkeson's History of Bates County, pp. 309-314.

walnut which had been sawed out by a whip-saw, dressed, but never painted. The sills and other dimension lumber were all hewn out or whip-sawed. It was all built from trees cut right at their door from the tract of land ceded to them by the Grand Osages. I can recall that there were other small buildings, built on the log cabin order, scattered about the premises when I was a boy.

"Harmony Mission was situated about one and a quarter miles up the Marais des Cygnes river northwest from where Papinsville was afterwards laid out and now is. In 1852, a Mr. Scroggins bought the main Mission dwelling, in which he lived until 1856, at which time he moved the building to Papinsville, where it, with two other buildings, was burned by unknown parties in the winter of 1863 and 1864, some months after General Ewing's Order No. 11 became effective and everyone had left Bates county. The town of Papinsville had been principally burned by a battalion of a Kansas regiment under Major Anderson on December 20, 1861—I think that is the correct date.

"I can remember back in 1854-5 and I know there were some Indians, mostly halfbreeds, scattered up and down the Marais des Cygnes river, where they fished and hunted unmolested. They were peaceable and harmless. This was not Indian country after the treaty of 1825; but I have always understood that the main body of the Grand Osages did not move beyond the borders of this state for several years after the treaty—in fact somewhere about 1836 or 1837; and they returned and temporarily dwelt and hunted along the Marais des Cygnes and Little Osage as late as the latter fifties—a sort of nomadic life, living in tepees and few together. A good many would come out of their own country in Kansas Territory, spending the summer and autumn along these two rivers, and return to their principal village for the winter.

"The missionaries arrived in August 1821, got their cession from old White Hair and the lesser chiefs, and settled on the margin of the Marais des Cygnes river at the point above stated. I ought to state that Harmony Mission was about three miles from the junction of the Marais des Cygnes with the Marmiton river almost directly south of the village of Papinsville; thence east from this confluence it is the Osage river proper, which finds its way to the Missouri river at Osage City about eight miles east of Jefferson City.

"I know there has been some confusion among writers as to the exact location of the principal village of the Grand Osages at the time the missionaries settled at Harmony in 1821 and thereafter until they went further west. On this point I can give only my best information, and the reader will take it for what it is worth. While many of the incidents making history for southern Bates county came directly under my own observation, much has been obtained from my father and mother, my father having come to Harmony Mission in 1838, where for two years he assisted Captain William Waldo in the sale of goods. In 1840, Bates county was organized into a county. My father, Freeman Barrows, was elected the first county clerk and by virtue of this office became exofficio recorder and circuit clerk, which office he held for twelve years. During this period father bought and improved a farm two miles east of Papinsville, where I was born. He continued to occupy this place until his death, April 20, 1861. My mother was a Miss Asenath A. Vaill, daughter of a Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Yale College, who under the auspices of the Board of Foreign Missions, established in 1819 the Union Mission not far from what is now Ft. Gibson in Okla., where my mother was born January 5, 1822. After her education was completed at Munson and Mount Holyoke seminaries in Massachusetts she returned to western Missouri to visit her sister, wife of Capt. Wm. Waldo. There she became acquainted with and married Freeman Barrows, August 23, 1842. Hence the early arrival of my parents in this country put them in a position in after years to give me an account of incidents occurring before my time and recollection. The main town of the Grand Osages was one-quarter mile north

of Papinsville, which would fix the village about three-quarters of a mile southeast of Harmony Mission, on the high land there at the edge of the timber, some of which is still there; and as a boy and young man, living within two miles of the spot, I often visited it. It was perfectly plain then where the principal village had been. They had killed out the timber in a considerable tract where their houses had been and where their ponies had been kept.

"The Indians always built their principal villages on high land, above overflow, and mostly in the timber, but close to the edge of the open prairie. This was that kind of a location. Of course the Indians were doubtless scattered about, as was their custom, but I always understood, and so did all the early settlers, that here was the principal Grand Osage village when the missionaries settled at Harmony. There may have been other villages south on the Osage and on the Little Osage river in what is now Vernon county, at an earlier date. The fact that the missionaries selected, in conference with the chiefs, the place they did select, is strong presumptive argument that the principal village was not far away, or where I say it was. For, if the main body of the Grand Osages lived near the junction of the Marmiton creek with the Little Osage river where Gen. Pike's crude map locates them in 1806, a distance of about eight miles as the crow flies from Harmony, and ten or twelve miles around by rivers, by land it would have been necessary for parents and children to come through a heavily timbered swampy bottom covered with tall grass, full of surface lakes and lagoons, and to cross the Little Osage, Muddy Creek and the Marais des Cygnes river to get to the mission school. It is not reasonable that a school and a religious establishment, bottomed upon the purpose and hope to reach these Indians, men, women and children, would have been located so far from the main village of the tribe. So, whatever may be thought of Pike's map, or wherever the principal village may have been located in 1806, it is certain that the main body of the Grand Osages dwelt about a quarter of a mile north of the present village of Papinsville and about three-quarters of a mile from the Mission school and other buildings, on the Marais des Cygnes river, at least three miles north of the head of the Osage river, in Bates County, in 1821, and thereafter until they moved to their new location farther west."

A large village of the Osages may have been located as above, at some time, but the entries in the Mission Journal previously quoted indicate that the principal village was fifteen or eighteen miles away when the missionaries first came there.

Romance and Stories of Harmony

Mrs. Graves tells these two romances that occurred in the vicinity of Harmony while the missionaries were there: (61)

A great romance that created so much interest in the first year of the Mission was that of the marriage at the Mission of the beautiful Indian maiden, Degenin (pronounced De-ni-no) to the Marquis Auguste Letier of France. This nobleman's father had fled from France during the Reign of Terror, leaving behind his young wife and little babe. He came to New Orleans, becoming a fur trader and never went back to his native land. His deserted son upon reaching manhood sought his father in the New World. He arrived in New Orleans about the time the Mission Family left Pittsburg, and he traced his father up the river from New Orleans to St. Louis, and from there by the same laborious journey in a keel-boat to the Great

61. Mrs. W. W. Graves, in "In the Land of the Osages—Harmony Mission", in Missouri Historical Review, April 1925, pp. 416-7. Mrs. Graves' husband, Waller Washington Graves, was judge of the supreme court of Missouri.

Osage Village near Harmony Mission where he visited the people around and found that the Marquis Ignatius Letier had arrived at the home of the Papins only three weeks before and had died there, and was buried by the missionaries. The young nobleman remained several months with the Papins and while out hunting met at Halley's Bluff the beautiful Indian maiden. His courtship was brief and after his marriage at the mission he constructed a better boat with the aid of M. Papin and departed with his wife for New Orleans, thence sailed for France.

Then there was the story of the Indian maiden No-wa-tah, daughter of the reigning chief, Old No-Horse, and her marriage to He-ta-hah, and how the line of the great chief became extinct when their son, Little No-Horse, while lying naked on the bank of the river near where No-wa-tah was fishing, was pounced upon by a great eagle and carried in its talons across the river to its eyrie in Halley's Bluff. The frantic mother was helpless to rescue the child and after his cries ceased she jumped into the river and was seen no more.

An old settler has handed down the story of how one of the ministers of the Mission while sleeping in a tent, before the cabins were completed, got his foot outside and was awakened by a tug at his foot and peering out under the folds of the tent saw a great bear running off with the woolen sock that had covered that member. Another oldtimer tells how one brother and sister went to Westport for supplies and while eating supper at camp their horses wandered, and while the husband was away searching for them, wolves surrounded the covered wagon and his wife fought them off with an axe for several hours before her husband returned.

Recommendations of Appraising Board.

Miss Mary Etris, a member of the mission family, continued part of the school at Harmony on her own responsibility after the American Board had ordered it discontinued as a mission school. Miss Etris was so deeply interested in her work, and so much attached to her little Osage pupils that she subordinated her own welfare to that of her pupils in order to continue their education. Not much is known of this school's history, aside from what is given in the report of the appraisers below. Apparently it was the intention that she should remove the school to Hopefield No. 3, if Mr. Requa succeeded in reestablishing his agricultural settlement there. It is not probable that she continued the school long after the final abandonment of Hopefield in 1837.

The following is part of the report of the board of appraisers appointed by the government to appraise the mission properties: (62)

"The undersigned having been appointed to examine and appraise the improvements at the Union Mission on the Neosho river, and the improvements at the Harmony Mission on the river Marais des Cygne; and having performed that duty as set forth in the annexed schedule, do make the following report: The instructions from the War Department provide that the amount of the valuation of the said missionary establishments, is to be expended in the support of schools among the Osages: But directs "that if you should think the application of part of it to any other object than the one specified desirable, you will communicate your ideas."

62. Original in National Archives, Department of Interior, Indian Affairs, Incoming Reports, 1837, Washington, D.C. Photostat copy in possession of this writer.

"In the present condition of the Osage Nation, we do not think it would be beneficial to them, to establish schools upon an extensive plan. The experiment has been tried in two establishments of Union and Harmony; and it has in a great measure failed. We cannot, however, close this report without giving the just tribute of our approbation to the conduct of Miss Etris of Harmony Mission, in the management of a small school of Osage boys and girls, of different ages, under her care. We would observe that after the American Board had determined to discontinue their support of the Union and Harmony establishments, the Missionary Directors, as was to be expected, dismissed their Osage pupils. This was not done by Miss Etris. With very little aid from the Board, and in a great measure by her own exertions, she kept the greatest number of her pupils together, and now has eight Osage children, all of whom appear to be cleanly and healthy; and those of an age capable of labour, are usefully employed, without neglecting their education. After witnessing the highly meritorious exertion of Miss Etris, we cannot withhold our earnest recommendation that a portion of the money from the valuation of the Union and Harmony missionary establishments may be set apart for the support of her school among the Osages, at such place in said nation as she may select. The care of the funds necessary for this purpose may be safely confided to the agent for the Osages, or to Mr. Wm. Requa, a missionary, who has heretofore made considerable efforts to instruct and civilize a small band of Osages, and who is now engaged in making an establishment for them on the Osage reservation. We expect that Miss Etris will fix her residence at Mr. Requa's establishment.

"After setting apart the funds necessary of the support of the school of Miss Etris, there will remain too small a sum to be of any great benefit to the Osage Nation without further aid from the government for the establishment and support of separate farms and farmers for such Osage families as can be induced to pursue that mode of life; and we are decidedly of the opinion that this is the best and only manner by which the Osages can be induced to abandon their hunting and predatory expeditions to the great western prairies. The ostensible motives assigned by the nation for these expeditions is, for the purpose of procuring buffalo meat, and other game for their support; skins for trade; and to catch wild horses. This is partly the case; and their present condition requires such support. But these expeditions, which take place three or four times a year, sometimes end in disputes and skirmishes with the Pawnees and other western tribes, and often terminate in bringing in a considerable number of stolen horses.

"In order to confer a real benefit on the Osage nation, they must, if possible, be induced to abandon their villages; and to settle upon and to cultivate separate farms. To accomplish this desirable change, the government or the missionary board, or both together, must assist them in building comfortable cabins and in opening farms, and provide a few farming tools for such families as can be induced to embrace this mode of life.

"We highly approve of the exertions of Mr. William Requa, who is at present engaged for the second time, in collecting and settling upon the Osage Reservation, a small band, with the intention of instructing them in cultivating their land for the support of themselves and their families. But however meritorious the efforts of Mr. Requa may be his means are too limited to accomplish more than the reclamation and instruction of a small number of families. This we think he will effect, and we recommend him to the favourable notice of the government and to the American Board.

All which is respectfully submitted. M. Stokes, Abraham Redfield, A. P. Chouteau.
April 11, 1837.

The Harmony Buildings.

The main mission house at Harmony is described by Barrows as being "a large two story building, weatherboarded with walnut which had been sawed out by whip-saw, dressed but never painted. The sills and other dimension lumber were hewed out or whip-sawed. It was also builded from trees cut right at the door. I can recall that there were other small houses, built on the log cabin order, scattered about the premises." (63)

Miss Denton, in her Thesis, says, "there were ten of them in a row, some seven feet apart, with a frontage to the east." (64)

The History of Vernon County says these log cabins were "roofed with clapboards, floored with puncheons and without window glass. The bed stead was made by boring holes in the cabin logs and framing in poles, across which clapboards were laid and covered with prairie hay covered with blankets." (65)

After the close of the Mission, the government paid the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions \$8000 for the improvements on the land. (66) Part of the buildings were later moved to Papinville.

HARMONY SCHOOL.

The school at Harmony had a more favorable beginning than the one at Union, twelve pupils being enrolled during the first two weeks of its existence. The war scares that prevailed around Union did not extend in any considerable degree, that far north, hence there was at least one less obstacle to deal with, and pupils were more easily obtained. Prejudices and objections were plentiful enough among the northern Osages, but were not as effective as those of the Arkansas band. Some of the troublesome problems are set forth under the head of "Harmony Mission," but the courageous missionaries kept right on working to win more pupils, hoping, thru them, to reach the adults with Christian teachings. The exact date of the opening of the school is not given, but was probably about the middle of December 1821. Rev. N. B. Dodge, in a letter to the Domestic Secretary, dated January 1822, said: (1)

63. J. N. Barrows, in History of Bates County, p. 309.

64. Miss Denton credits Lewis' American Missionary Register, V. 2, p. 351, for this information.

65. History of Vernon County, p. 147.

66. C. C. Broadbent, in Harmony Mission and Methodist Missions, in Missouri Historical Review, January 1915, p. 102.

1. Missouri Historical Review, April 1915, p. 185; Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, p. 223.

"We have already 12 children who are given to us for instruction. We have not as yet built a school house, but at present occupy one of our houses for use of the school. We calculate to build accommodations for the school as fast as they are needed, so as not to reject one Indian child that may be offered for our instruction. . . . We have fitted up a room, which will probably have forty scholars; and our school is now in operation under as favorable circumstances as we could expect. We find much difficulty in persuading the natives to give up their children, and in keeping them after they have been given up."

About this same time Rev. Benton Pixley wrote this: (2)

"Our school went into operation about two weeks since; and we have now twelve children from the natives of both sexes, and of all sizes; five of them full-blooded, and seven half-breed. These children are certainly as interesting and active as the generality of children among the whites, and I have sometimes thought they were more so."

That the Osage children were quick to learn is attested by Miss Comstock, one of the teachers during the first year of the school, who wrote to a friend in Connecticut that "I have a little girl, twelve years old with me. She has been with me six days, and has learned all the letters, and will write them very well." (3) The quarterly report of the superintendent, Rev. Dodge, dated April 2nd, 1822, confirms this when he says: (4)

Our family now consists of eighty persons in our school. We have sixteen Osage children, who are making pleasing progress in their learning, some of them can spell readily in words of two syllables. I have under my care five little girls, the oldest seven years of age, and the others about three; they begin to speak English, and can understand all that is said to them. We have a Sabbath school; most of the hired help attend it, and appear quite engaged in their studies."

Rev. Pixley tells of false reports during the first year: (5)

"Our school is in a progressive and prosperous state. We have not, indeed, so many youth under our care as we had some weeks ago; but this shifting has only made the rest appear the more promising. Reports were lately circulated that we were treating the children badly, and several of the children were taken from us. In order to let the tribe know our feelings and decision on the subject, we suspended the school for one week, and gave all the children liberty to go home. We also told them, that if they were not satisfied with staying with us, they need not return. But we were gratified to see all but two of them remain with us, not wishing to go away. The other two returned in due season."

Rev. Jones tells of the disposition of the boys in the school, in a letter to the Domestic Secretary, June 1, 1822: (6)

"At the time I first entered the school, not one Indian youth knew his letters. Five can now readily spell and read in words of three syllables. When I first took charge of them, they had not begun to show their peculiar dispositions; nor did they until two or three weeks had passed away. About this time, it seemed for six or

2. Same, p. 187; Morse's Report, p. 223.

3. Same, p. 188.

4. Same, p. 190.

5. A. M. R., August 1822, p. 48; Pixley to Domestic Sec., April 1822.

6. Same, September 1822, p. 90.

seven weeks, that the adversary of all good was determined to overthrow all designs of mercy towards this people. But the blessing of God upon the means used, the enemy seems to have lost his influence, and at present the school is in a prosperous state. The Indian boys are now as orderly as most boys with whom I have been acquainted in New England. We now have twelve Indian youth in our family."

Interferences and the irregularity of attendance are told by Miss Woolley in a letter to her mother, September 23, 1822: (7)

"On Monday last three of four promising children were taken from the school. . . . The third, a girl of twelve, was called for, and amidst a flood of tears, was constrained to go. The next morning she begged her mother to return to the station and purchase the books she had been studying, adding that she "still wished to read, although she was not permitted to continue at school." A book was accordingly presented to her.

"On the 20th inst, I attended the quarterly examination of our school. I think it would be very pleasing to you, could you witness the improvement the children have made in reading, writing and sewing. I must mention Rebecca Williams in particular. She can sew neat enough to work in cambrick; and has assisted considerably in making articles for the family. Mary Ludlow can also sew very neat for a child of four years of age."

The report for the school for 1823 says: (8)

"Several of the oldest boys could readily spell and read in words of three syllables. The boys are also taught to labour in the fields; the girls are rapidly acquiring knowledge of the various branches of household economy. Several of the latter have learned to sew with comparative neatness and facility, and have rendered considerable assistance in making articles of clothing."

When the disparity of language and other handicaps are considered, this was indeed a praiseworthy record. One wonders, if the situation were reversed, would our own white children do better!

The report of the following year showed: (9)

"An average of about forty Indian children whose behavior and progress in their studies have been such as to call forth the commendation of the United States agents and others who have visited the station. The interest of this school is greatly enhanced by the recent hopeful conversion of 10 or 15 of the pupils."

In 1823, the new school building was completed and occupied. The Mission Journal for April says: (10)

"Brother Jones removes his school to our newly erected house. This building we calculate eventually for a joiner's shop, but will occupy it for a school until we can be better accommodated. We have shingled the roof, enclosed the outside, laid a loose floor, and prepared a desk for the master, and seats for the scholars, according to the Lancasterian plan."

The report for 1825 showed this progress: (10)

"During the past year, the school has been favored beyond any reasonable expectation. To the eighteen pupils mentioned in your last report, more than twenty have

7. Sam^e, December 1822, p. 211.

8. Missionary Herald, V. 19, p. 214, July 1823. A.M.R. June 1823, p. 163.

9. A. M. R., September 1823, p. 275

10. A. B. C. M. F., 16th Annual Report, 1825. Copy K. S. H. S., Topeka.

since been added. Although several have been taken away from the school, yet at the date of our last information, thirty-six interesting native children, rescued from the forest, were enjoying privileges of literary and religious instruction—were undergoing a course of moral and mental culture, which, under the blessing of God, may promote their temporal and eternal benefit, and render them the instrument of conferring incalculable blessings upon their tribe."

Continuing, the same report says:

"Early last year, several Indian families commenced a settlement in the immediate neighborhood of the station. They erected comfortable log buildings, and made preparation for cultivating the soil. At their request, a number of their children were admitted to the school."

Official report of Rev. Dodge to the Government of the condition of the Harmony school for year ending 30th September, 1825. (11)

No. of teachers and other persons belonging to the institution, 38;

No. of students, 40; admitted since October 1st, 22; amount of property, \$15336.77; receipts during the year, including annual allowance of the government, \$5555.23; deficit last year, \$210; surplus this year, \$161.89.

On the 2nd day of July past, a set of Lancasterian lessons were received and put in immediate use. Since that time the progress of the school has been rapid. Esther Petchorku, a Delewaran, about 15 years old, in nine weeks progressed from the alphabet to reading in the testament. Several others have made rapid progress but she excels and is now acting monitor for the third class with no small degree of success. She possessed an amiable and obedient disposition.

The number who read in the testament are	24
Who write on paper,	26
In arithmetic,	2

Many of the children have made good proficiency in their Sabbath school lessons. Mary Williams, a little girl about 12 years old, recited in the course of one quarter 1300 verses in scripture besides others in catechism and hymns. Others have recited large lessons and are progressing very well.

The boys have been very industrious the season past when out of school. They, with their superintendent and a hired man part of the time, have cultivated a field of 20 acres principally in corn from which they have raised near 500 bushels. The ground is now sowed to wheat.

Mrs. Coloy and Mrs. Montgomery, two very valuable members of our mission, have within the past year been called to their long home together with nine small children one of which was an Indian child.

11. Original report of the Rev. Dodge, to Sec. of war, in National Archives, Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Incoming Reports for 1825; Washington, D. C. Photostat copy in possession of W. W. Graves, St. Paul, Kansas.

The names of the members of this mission and the number of their children are as follows, viz:

Rev. Nath'l B. Dodge, wife and seven children.
 Wm. N. Belcher, physician, wife and two children.
 Daniel H. Austin, carpenter, wife and six children.
 Sam'l Newton, farmer, wife and four children.
 Otis Sprague, supt. of I. boys and farmer, wife and two children.
 Amasa Jones, teacher, wife and two children.
 Richard Colby, blacksmith.
 Mary Etris, and Harriet Wooley, single females.

Neosho Branch establishment consists of Rev. Benton Pixley, wife and three children; Samuel B. Bright, farmer, wife and three children.

The value of the property belonging to the several departments is essentially as follows:

Farming Department,	\$5145.50
Building department, Mills,	3000.00
Other buildings,	2639.21
Store department,	2848.75
Steward department, including kitchen furniture,	1000.00
Blacksmith department,	538.31
Medical department,	490.00
Library,	400.00
Guns,	140.00
Shoe department,	80.00
	15336.77

The above is respectfully submitted as a view of the concerns of Harmony Mission, by Nath'l B. Dodge, Supt.

To. Hon. James Barber, Sec'y of War.

The report for September 30, 1826 says: (12)

"The school is much smaller than it was a year ago occasioned by the existing difficulties between the Osages and the Delawares. A number of Delaware children were here the last year but through fear of the Osages they have been retained at home. In consequence of this it was thought advisable to set up a school among them. Accordingly a youth of their nation who had been at school at Harmony for a season was employed one quarter as teacher. He had ten scholars but in consequence of disturbed situations the number could not be increased. Their difficulties are about to be settled and then in all probability the school will be enlarged.

"Three families consisting of 14 persons have in consequence of sickness and other reasons considered it their duty to withdraw from the missionary field. (Belcher,) Newton and Sprague.)

Rev. Dodge, in one of his reports about this time, told of another trouble that had not previously visited that locality: (13)

"There is a probability that some of them (pupils) may be taken away by their friends who are trembling with fear that the Kickapoos will retaliate upon them for the injury they have lately received from the Osage."

12. Same for 1826.

13. Missionary Herald, May 1827, p. 23.

To the above, he cheerfully added: "However, the girls are generally small, but they are sprightly and some of them are beginning to use the wheel (spinning) with which they are pleased."

Fear of retaliation from the Kickapoos upon the Osages for injuries received, caused a flurry in the school for a time, but it passed without serious consequences and the school continued to make nice progress. (13) In his official report for September 30, 1827, Rev. Dodge said: (14)

"The school has considerably increased the past year, and has experienced much less disturbance from the visits of the Indians than in any preceding year. The children are generally making proficiency in learning to read, in speaking and understanding the English. While the boys are attending to business abroad morning and evening, the girls are learning to spin and the various branches of domestic economy. A loom has been erected the past year and one web wove, and several others are about ready to go into the loom. We hope soon to be able to manufacture a great share of our clothing."

The school went along with its usual ups and downs with no great variation in attendance for a time, and like that at Union, it was really more successful than the mission; in fact the few successes of the mission came from the school. It was the only real contact the missionaries had with the tribe, and without it desirable results would have been mighty few. The successes of 1831 are summarized in the report of the American Board: (15)

"The school at Harmony contains thirty-nine children. Most of the boys are quite young. The pupils have never made so good progress, or appeared so well in any former year. One of the sub-agents of Osages, after attending the examination last spring, remarked that though he had visited schools extensively in most of the southwestern states, he had never seen one where the pupils acquitted themselves so honorably.

"During the year ending last December the girls manufactured 155 yards of cloth, which was used in the mission family. The boys who are of suitable age, are employed at useful labor while out of school. Two Osage girls and one Delaware from the school, have married Frenchmen, settled near the station, and promise to do well."

Rev. Amasa Jones wrote this in a letter from Harmony, January 19, 1832: (16) *

"The average number of Indian scholars for the last year was from 36 to 40. The good order which has prevailed among them, the progress they have made in their studies, in domestic arts and in agriculture, when we look no farther than the present, is highly flattering. In the course of the year, several gentlemen of some distinction have visited the school, and have spoken in the highest terms of commendation, both as it respects the progress the scholars have made in their studies, and their general appearance.

Mr. Choteau, the agent, to express his good will, has presented to the mission, a bell weighing thirty-three pounds.

14. Same as No. 11, for 1827.

15. A. B. C. F. M., 22nd Annual Report, 1831, p. 87.

16. Missionary Herald, April 1832, p. 120.

One year later Rev. Jones wrote this about the school: (17)

"A great change has taken place in the school since the revival commenced. The scholars are more orderly, more studious, and more inclined to read. Their proficiency has been highly gratifying. The branches usually taught in common schools at the East have been pursued with success. We have had respectable classes in grammar, geography and arithmetic."

The report of the Annual Meeting of the American Board for 1833 contained this extended report of the Harmony school: (18)

"At Hopefield and Boudinot no schools have been established, as it is impracticable, without boarding schools, to separate the children sufficiently from their parents to induce them to acquire a knowledge of the English language, and no books in the Osage language have yet been printed. This latter hindrance, it is hoped will soon be removed.

"The school at Harmony was opened in December 1821, and has received 200 pupils—126 males and 75 females—133 of Indian, 63 of white and five of African descent. The present number is 50, of whom 32 are males, 37 of Indian, ten of white, and three of African descent. The studies are similar to those pursued in common district schools among the whites. The studious and orderly habits of the pupils, and especially their attention to religious instruction, have been highly complimented. All are promising, and some make remarkable proficiency in their studies. . . . About half of those who have belonged to the school have acquired an education adequate to the transaction of the common business of life, and as many as twelve, in respect to their attainments in the common branches of knowledge, would make competent teachers. The influence of those who have left the school is generally favorable. The Sabbath school embraces ten adults and fifty children. Its character and influence are good, and many of its members are making rapid progress in scriptural knowledge.

"The number of Indians speaking the Osage language, or some dialect so nearly resembling it as to be easily understood by each other, is supposed to be between 15,000 and 20,000, including Osages, estimated at 6,000; the Omahaws, 7,000; the Kansas, 2,000, together with the Quapaws, Ioways and Otoes; all of whom occupy contiguous districts of country, though much scattered, and all addicted to a migratory mode of life. Their language has never been printed, nor indeed reduced to writing, except so far as the missionaries have proceeded in preparing vocabularies for their own use, and small books for the press. Mr. Montgomery and Mr. W. C. Requa now understand the language so far as to be able to communicate freely with the Indians. Other members of the mission families can converse with them more or less on common topics. Considerable progress has been made in preparing an elementary book for schools, and also in translating one of the gospels and some other portions of scripture, and a few hymns. Some of these, it is hoped, may be completed and printed before next spring. This, with other small books which are in a course of preparation, and which will be printed as soon as the state of the mission shall require, will open the way for the introduction of schools in the native language at Hopefield and Boudinot, and other stations which may hereafter be formed on a similar plan, in connection with Osage settlements."

The report of the same Board one year later said this: (19)

"A number of the pupils, having obtained an education sufficient for transacting the common business of life, are leaving the school from year to year, and seem

17. Same, April 1833, p. 135.

18. A. B. C. F. M., 24th Annual Report, 1833, p. 117.

19. Same, 25th Annual Report, 1834, p. 119.

disposed to lead a settled and industrious course of life; but they have no household furniture, no agricultural implements, and no stock; nor any means of obtaining these essentials of civilized life. The committee have authorized the missionaries at Harmony to aid promising young Osage families of this description, to a limited extent. A small colony might probably be formed of these families, with great advantage to themselves, if a suitable tract of land, a well qualified superintendent, and a small outfit of furniture, agricultural implements, and stock could be obtained for them.

"During the year unsuccessful attempts have been made by commissioners of the United States to induce the Osages to enter into a treaty, ceding the country they at present occupy, and agreeing to remove northeasterly to join some kindred tribes on the waters of the Kansas and Platte rivers. The commissioners have also visited a number of tribes west and northeast of the Osages, and succeeded in forming with them treaties of peace and friendship among themselves and between them severally and the Osages. Should these amicable relations prove to be permanent, one of the principal sources of suffering, and a formidable obstacle to the introduction of Christianity among these tribes will be removed."

Holcombe tells something of what became of the pupils who had attended the school, thus: (20)

"The design and hope of the missionaries were that, after being educated and Christianized, the regenerated Indians would return to their people and lead them to adopt their new ideas and modes of living, and thus bring about a great and lasting change for the better. But, unfortunately, upon returning to their tribes, the pupils, converts and all, lapsed into their former barbarism, taking with them their former habits and customs very readily and with seeming relish. Singularly enough, too, a majority of the children died soon after reaching their homes. Doubtless, in nearly every instance, death was occasioned by the change in the mode of living, but the Indians chose to consider it the result of attending the school, and were more opposed to education and civilization than ever.

"Often the Indian parents stole away their children from the school. When a boy became old enough to hire to the government as a teamster or to be employed in some other capacity, or when a girl could be sold for a 'wife' to a trader or a chief, as was often done, and occasionally forcible abduction was resorted to in the case of the girls. The traders were willing to pay an extra price for a wife who could read and write and had other accomplishments."

Miss Doris Denton, in her Thesis on Harmony Mission, previously mentioned, gives information not contained in any of the available reports of the missionaries. Miss Denton resided not far from the site of Harmony Mission and school, and gained much of her information from first hand sources that give it special value. In part, she wrote: (21)

"At first it (the school) was conducted in a room of one of the cabins, but later held in a building constructed for that purpose, the upper room being used as a lodging place for the Indian boys attending the school. Mr. Montgomery and Miss Comstock were in charge; the former, however, relinquished his supervision when

20. History of Vernon County, Missouri, p. 149.

21. Miss Doris Denton's Thesis on Harmony Mission, submitted to the Department of History and Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts. Miss Denton's home was in Butler, Bates County, Missouri.

he went to live with the Osages on the Arkansas. He was succeeded by Mr. Austin who remained in charge until the school was abandoned along with the mission. May I add here that the teachers of the mission school had problems to contend with—such as discipline, dissatisfied parents and epidemics (whooping cough and measles), just as the teachers of our public schools have today.

"The pupils, of course, were the most interesting part of the school. They varied in number from two, as in the beginning, to fifty-five later on. They were of both sexes, ranging from two to twenty years in age, and from different tribes of Indians. The Osage, of course, were the most numerous; however there was a sprinkling of Delawares, Omahaws and Pawnees. To this mixed group must be added the children of the missionaries, and Michael, a negro from a settlement on the Missouri river, who paid his master one day a week to have the privilege of going to school. The ones in charge of the school always welcomed children from other tribes, thinking perhaps that by bringing them together a spirit of harmony and peace might be developed which would eventually do away with war. (22)

"Upon entering the school, the Indian children were dressed in clothing similar to that worn by the missionaries, and were, according to custom in missionary schools, given names of people who were patrons or friends of the mission. Such names as Augustus Chouteau, Philip Milledoler, Mary Williams and Jane Montgomery appeared on the school chart. (23)

"There were pupils in the school who were descendants of the Indians to whom David Brainerd preached in New Jersey. The mothers of these children remembered Brainerd well, said that he lived among them, sleeping on the ground, intent only on telling them the story of Christ. (24)

"The record kept by the school did not vary so greatly from those kept by modern schools. It revealed at one glance the names and number of children enrolled, their age at the time of admission, the nation or tribe to which their parents belonged, and the progress which each one had made in his studies. The following is a part of the chart kept for the year 1824-25: (25)

name	When admitted, age	Descent	Progress
Catherine Strange,	Jan. 14, 1822, 3,	Eng.-Osage	Easy reading les.
Susan Larivive,	Mar. 12, 1822, 6,	Sioux-Fr.-Osage	Testament, writing.
Rebecca Williams,	Mar. 12, 1822, 9,	Pawnee-Fr.-Osage	Testament, writing.
Mary Ludlow,	Mar. 12, 1822, 4,	Pawnee-Fr.-Osage	Testament, writing.
Louisa Anna Bean,	Mar. 12, 1822, 7,	Pawnee-Fr.-Osage	Testament, writing.
Maria Seward,	Apr. 22, 1822, 6,	Osage,	Testament, writing.
Mary Williams,	Oct. 10, 1823, 8,	Osage and English	Testament, writing.
John B. Mitchell,	July 11, 1823, 10,	Osage and French	Testament, writing.
James Chouteau,	Oct. 10, 1823, 10,	Osage and French	Testament, writing.
Julia Michael,	July 11, 1823, 9,	Osage and French	Testament, writing.
Lewis Michael,	Feb. 23, 1824, 6,	Osage and French	Words 1 Syllable.
Gabriel Marlow,	Nov. 6, 1823, 16,	French-Pawnee,	Arith. Test. wri.
Augustus Chouteau,	Jan. 28, 1824, 9,	French-Osage	Testament, writing
Wm. C. Brownlee,	June 12, 1824, 18,	Delaware,	Testament, writing
Wm. Rogers,	July 26, 1824, 17,	Pawnee,	Reads, writes.
John B. Packett,	Aug. 23, 1824, 17,	Mother Saik,	Reads, writes.
John McDowell,	Sept. 2, 1824, 9,	Osage,	Reads, writes.
Mary E. Sibley,	Oct. 24, 1824, 13,	Osage,	Words 3 syllables.
Jane Renick,	Aug. 10, 1824, 7,	Osage-French,	Easy read. les.

22. Lewis, A. M. R., V. 2, p. 305

23. Ibid., V. 5, p. 211.

24. Hill's Presbytery of Kansas City, p. 101.

25. A. M. R., V. 6, p. 273.

"In addition to the charts there were quarterly reports made during the year, showing the progress of the boys and girls in their vocational subjects. This one for April 22, 1823, indicates the work done by the girls in the preceding quarter: (29)

'Sally Dodge, (white) made a cambric hat, 1 cape, altered 1 frock, and three days in the kitchen.

'Susan Larivive, (Indian) sewed 46 yards of seams. 2 pairs garters, and sixteen days in the kitchen.

'Rebecca Williams, (Indian) 4 yards of seams, 3 pairs of garters, twenty-one days in the kitchen.

'Mary Ludlow, (Indian) 26 yards of seams, 3 pairs of garters, 17 days in the kitchen.

'Louisa Ann Bean, (Indian) 15 yards of seams, 4 days in the kitchen.

'Jane Renick, (Indian) 24 yards, one day in the kitchen.'

"The children, when not in school, were expected to work. The following rules were drawn up by the committee and applied to the Indian boys: (27)

" . . . Expedient that the teacher call the boys to labor precisely at sunrise ,and that they continue at labor an hour, and have recess until 8 o'clock. At 8, call them again, and continue their labor until school. At 1 o'clock P.M. call them to labor, continue one hour. . . . the teacher to commit them to any member of the Family who will labor with them. The teacher shall keep a record of each boy's labor, the manner in which he labors, as well as the time, and offer premiums for punctuality and faithfulness. The superintendent of the Farming Department shall designate work for the boys from time to time.

"In spite of the opposition of some, there were many chiefs who were very interested in the school and visited it frequently, among the most important being White Hair, the reigning chief, Big Soldier, Sans Nerf and Moneypushee." (28)

Harmony School Closes.

After the removal of the Osages from Missouri, the number of Osage pupils in the school at Harmony gradually declined, and, although the end was not far off, the missionaries continued hopeful for the ultimate success of an enterprise to which they had devoted several of the best years of their lives. Rev. Isaac McCoy, the Baptist Missionary, in the course of one of his trips for the government, visited the station on June 16, 1831, and made this entry in his diary: (29)

"Affairs at Harmony mission (Presbyterian) appear to be tolerably favorable. They have about 30 Indian scholars in charge, and the missionaries manifest a considerable self-denial. The Osage Indians now reside about 70 miles from them. Still the missionaries suppose them near enough to favour their boarding school. . . . I find the Missionaries all opposed to the colonizing of the Indians."

The first information concerning the closing of the mission and school, appearing in the records published, are found in the report of the American Board for 1835, in which it said: (30)

"Messrs. Kingsbury and Byington visited the several stations in the Osage country,

26. Same, V. 3, p. 275.

27. Same, V. 3, p. 94.

28. Same, V. 2, p. 473.

29. Manuscript Journal of Isaac McCoy, in archives of K. S. H. S., Topeka.

30. Missionary Herald, January 1836, p. 24.

by appointment of the Committee, during the last autumn. While at Harmony, it seemed to them desirable, considering how little influence that station could have on the Osages, except through the pupils in the boarding school, that the number of persons laboring there should be diminished, and that the secular affairs of the station should be curtailed, that the labor should be principally performed by the pupils, under the direction of the teacher and superintendent."

The Missionary Herald, January, 1836, said: (31)

"The school at Harmony has not been so large as usual, not having averaged above thirty-five pupils. The labors of Mr. Jones as a preacher have been much as in previous years. On account of the disadvantages attending a station so remote from the Indians, it will probably be expedient to discontinue it, as soon as it shall be decided where the Osages are to be permanently located."

The report of the American Board for 1836, contained this rather extended report of the influences connected with the closing of the Harmony school and mission: (32)

"When the mission to the Osages commenced, the tribe occupied an extensive tract of country west of the state of Missouri, and extending from the Missouri river on the north beyond the Arkansas on the south. The station at Union, in the southern part of their country, and that at Harmony, in the northern, were far within the limits of their domain, and were the constant resorts of multitudes of these ignorant and untamed hunters of the prairie. At this time they had had comparatively little intercourse with the white man; and though some of his vices and diseases had been introduced, yet intemperance, that insidious destroyer, the inlet of all evil and the barrier against all good to the Indian, was entirely unknown to them.

"By a treaty negotiated with them in June, 1825, almost immediately after the mission went into full operation, and before it came under the care of this Board, their country was reduced to a narrow strip fifty miles in width, whose southern border was forty miles distant from Union, while the northern was still farther removed south of Harmony; thus at once placing the missionaries and the schools at a most unfavorable distance from the adult Indians, on whom they were designed to operate. Some of the Indians lingered about their former residences, and continued accessible to the influence of the mission; but they could not be regarded by their teachers as being at home, or in condition to be permanently benefitted. Harmony fell within the limits of the state of Missouri, which occasioned additional embarrassments. In 1828, by a treaty entered into with the Arkansas Cherokees, Union and the forming settlement of Hopefield were included in the land assigned to the Cherokees. The latter station was broken up and removed, and the former became an unsuitable place for an Osage school, and soon ceased to receive that class of pupils. By a further extension of the Cherokee country, the settlers at Hopefield were again obliged to abandon their fields and lodges, and to commence anew still further north. Within the last few years, white settlers have been locating themselves in the vicinity of Harmony, and thus increasing the embarrassments under which that school was conducted. In the mean time the number of white travellers and traders who had been passing through or residing among the Osages has been increasing. New temptations have been presented to them. Intoxicating liquors have been introduced in great quantities, and the Osages, though slow to imitate either the whites or their red brethren of other tribes, have at last contracted a fondness for them, which their ignorance and a feeling of their melancholy condition well fitted them to indulge. The influence of the traders,

31. Same.

32. Same, January 1837, p. 22.

who have great sway over their minds, is to prevent their adopting the habits of settled agricultural life, and to lead them to devote themselves more entirely to hunting, wandering further and further west, as the game retires in that direction.

"Owing to circumstances like these, it is the opinion of the missionaries that the Osages were never so poor, dissipated, and wretched, as at the present time; or in a condition more unfavorable to the influence of religious truth.

"The situation of the Osages and their affairs being such, it became obvious last autumn, that the mission families could not advantageously be kept longer at Harmony, or the boarding school be continued. Such were the views of the Committee and the missionaries. Accordingly arrangements were made for disposing of the property of the Board at the station. The number of mission families there, as no other field of missionary labor was open in that vicinity were, considering their age and the circumstances of their case, the Lord seemed to be calling them to enter, requested and received a discharge from the further service of the Board. The Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge, of Boudinot, also presented a similar request, and received his discharge early in the spring. The Rev. Messrs. Dodge and Jones have since been commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society to preach as missionaries in the white settlement in the vicinity of Harmony, where they are now laboring. Some of the mission families still occupy the buildings and grounds at the station.

"The school was discontinued about the first of March. Some of the pupils have gone home to their friends; others are retained in the families of their former teachers, with the hope of protecting them till maturer years from the bad influence to which they would otherwise be exposed. Some of the older and more promising members of the school are establishing themselves as farmers.

"One assistant missionary is now the only remaining individual of the Osage mission; and should the effort, which it is said will be made the present autumn, to bring the whole tribe upon their reservation, and by aiding them in erecting houses and opening fields, to induce them to exchange the hunter's mode of life for that of the agriculturist, fail, the mission must probably be abandoned.

"A retrospect of the history of this mission cannot be taken without awakening many painful emotions. Very few, if any, of the adults of the tribe have been induced to exchange their savage and migratory habits for a civilized and industrious life; or to substitute the Christian doctrines and practices for the ridiculous and absurd superstitions; or have been in any other manner benefitted as to the condition of their character. The number of youths educated in the schools has been comparatively small, and of this number few have given evidence that the gospel, under whose daily influence they sat for years, has been to them the power of God unto salvation; while many have returned to their friends and former manner of life, and become as filthy and debased as those who had never enjoyed such advantages; and not a few others have been enticed away, to sink into the lowest depths of pollution and misery. The amount of funds expended on the mission has been great; and so also has been the number of laborers who have engaged in promoting it. Not a few of these, after going through a course of arduous service, have gone down to the grave, the victims of disease and hardship; others, worn down by toil and disheartened by opposing difficulties, have retired from the field with broken constitutions; while the remnant, after having labored with much fidelity and patience nearly fifteen years, have felt themselves compelled to abandon the work, leaving the Osages, with scarcely an exception, more miserable and hopeless, both as to condition and character, than they were when the mission was commenced among them.

"Such instances, while they should render us more humble in view of the utter impotence of all human agents and means, and more disposed to look to God to give efficiency to his own word should not tempt us to doubt respecting our duty

to have the gospel preached to every people, or to feel less certain that all the divine promises relative to its ultimate and universal triumph will be fully accomplished."

Holcombe tells of the closing of the mission affairs at Harmony as follows: (33)

"Two sections of land at the mission was reserved by the treaty of 1825, and for the improvements thereon the U. S. paid \$8000, the land itself reverting to the government upon the abandonment of the mission. The money went to the American Board of Foreign Missions. Each mission-family was allowed by the Board what provisions, bedding, clothing, stock, etc., were necessary for immediate necessities, and the rest of the personal property was sold at public auction, the proceeds going to the Board.

"The members of the mission scattered. A few returned to the east. Rev. N. B. Dodge and the Dodge family and some others came ultimately to Vernon county. (Missouri) Rev. Amasa Jones removed to Henry county, where he died in April 1870.

"Dr. W. N. Belcher was the physician of the station for six years, but his health failed and he returned to New York. Mr. Jones, who was well versed in the science of medicine, succeeded Dr. Belcher, and combined the duties of minister, teacher and physician.

"In the early days the Harmony Mission was a well known locality. Upon the organization of Bates county in 1841, it was made the first county seat and so remained for seven years. It was the first post office in the county. Capt. Wm. Waldo opened a store there in 1838, and Hubbard & Loring bought the first stock of goods after the place became the county seat.

"Some of the other members of the mission not named in the foregoing pages were Rev. Mr. Fuller, assistant farmer; Abram McKnight, now living in St. Clair county, and some other parties who were merely employees and attaches, and whose names are remembered as McCord, Wells, Wddle, Busley."

A Neglected Spot.

History of Bates County, published by the National Historical Co., St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1883 said: (34)

"There remains at this time nothing to denote the spot on which the buildings once stood, or the locality of the mission, except a few trees of an old apple orchard, which were planted by missionary hands soon after their settlement. Nor is there remaining anything to indicate that at this point was located for seven years the first county seat of Bates county."

W. O. Atkeson wrote this: (35)

"The author recently (this was published in 1918) visited the site of Harmony Mission in company with J. N. Barrows, of Rich Hill, who was born within a mile and a half of Papinsville in 1847, and who as a boy drank from the great well digged by the missionaries at Harmony, and ate apples from the trees they planted there, and we walked over the very sites of the log cabins and the great school building, all of which he remembers having seen before destroyed or removed. Nothing remains to mark the site except a large sink hole where the well once

33. History of Vernon County, pp. 150-151.

34. History of Bates County, Missouri, (St. Joseph), 1888) as quoted in History of Vernon County, Missouri, p. 151.

35. History of Bates County, by Atkeson, p. 77.

was, and stumps of large black locust trees planted by those God-fearing men. Bits of crockery and glass lie scattered about and a few brick-bats.

"The location is all that was described in the 'Journal' and in the letters of the missionaries. The soil was not so good about the immediate location as they thought it, and the stone coal referred to by some of them is a very thin stratum of poor coal cropping out at the very bottom of the river. The timber to the east and to the west is still there in limited quantities.

"Since the foregoing was written we have been enabled to locate and visit the Harmony cemetery. It required considerable inquiry among the oldest inhabitants of the vicinity to locate it, so completely has it been lost; and it is known to the few who know anything about it as the 'Old Indian burying ground'."

Other Schools.

No school was ever attempted at Hopefield, the main effort there being to instruct adults in agriculture and useful occupations. In a sense it might have been classed as a manual training school, but the teaching was all done in the field or in the shop. There were no class rooms.

Boudinot was established by Rev. Dodge primarily as a mission station. He had no school at the beginning, but later Miss Choate was brought to the mission to teach Rev. Dodge's own children. She enrolled a few Osage children, but made no special effort in their behalf. After a few months, Miss Choate was married and moved from the mission. That ended the school. Rev. Dodge made some effort to teach agriculture, but he was most interested in missionary work. Mr. Requa, who succeeded him about the beginning of 1836, carried on the agricultural work on a more extensive scale during his short stay there, but had no school.

Rev. Pixley conducted a school at the Neosho Mission which is classed by historical writers as having been the first school taught within what is now the state of Kansas. This school was opened late in 1824, but not much is known of its progress, aside from the statements made by Rev. Pixley in his official reports as published elsewhere in this book. This school was closed early in 1829, after a dispute arose between Rev. Pixley and the Indian agent. It does not seem to have made much impression on the natives, but it is historically important as having been the first school taught on what is now Kansas soil.

Three factors besides the indifference of the Indians, contributed to the decline of Harmony school:

1. The closing of the factory system of trading, by the government in 1822. The factory system kept the Indian trade in the hands of the government. When this ended, the traders again had a free hand, and they prevailed on the Indians to spend a greater part of

their time each year on the hunt, that they might obtain more peltry for the trade. It did not concern the selfish traders, if the Indians insisted on taking their children from the school to accompany them on the trips. They cared for nothing except the profits of the trade. It was even said that they were instrumental in causing the removal of White Hair's band from the Harmony sector, in order to get them nearer the hunting grounds.

2. The Treaty of 1825. This treaty was destined to bring disaster to the school by making permanent the temporary evil resulting from the agitation of the traders. Although the Osages agreed in the treaty to remove to the Neosho, some were slow to go, and even slower to take their children from the school. The removal was gradual, the effects were gradual, even more so than anticipated, but none-the-less certain. In the course of time new pupils ceased to enroll.

3. The efforts of the Indian agents to mass the Indians in villages. This was in direct opposition to the plans of the missionaries to locate families on small tracts of land near the school where they could practice agriculture under the direction of the mission farmers, and send their children to the school. The success of the Hopefield settlement had convinced the missionaries of the wisdom of their plan; while the long hunts made necessary by the village plan of living had disrupted many of their well laid plans for systematic effort in behalf of the natives. Both sides were no doubt acting in good faith, but subsequent events have proven the wisdom of the missionaries. The mass settlements promoted idleness, crime and war, and quite often, dire distress. The contention of the agents that mass or close settlements would expedite control was offset by attending evils.

The government policy of locating eastern tribes in what is now eastern Oklahoma was doubtless the strongest factor in hastening the end of the Union school and mission. The removal of the Osages from the district to make room for the newcomers left the Union station far from the body of the people they came to serve, and placed it subject to the direction of a tribe hostile to the Osages.

It would seem from these facts that the policies of the government in dealing with the Indians, conducted on an extensive scale that did not give much consideration to minor factors or institutions, were responsible for the closing of these benevolent institutions which it had encouraged and helped to establish and maintain.

Later Efforts.

No school or mission was maintained among the Osages for several years after Boudinot and Hopefield were closed, but that the matter was under serious consideration is evidenced by this quotation from Alethea Bass' "Cherokee Messenger", (p. 316):

"Later, when the Board proposed reestablishing the Osage Mission, Samuel was consulted in advance as to the man who should have charge of it. He made plain, in his reply, what he considered were some essentials in a missionary and a missionary's wife. 'Mr. Redfield would not do. He travels and allows his team to be driven on the Sabbath, is too worldly-minded, and has been too much in the habit of treating the Osages as a little below the human race, to do very much good among them. Nor is his wife better adapted to the work. . . . Mrs. R. is a Missouri woman, young I suppose, compared with himself, and not of superior earthly advantages. She may be such as would be a valuable helper in missionary work, but I should want to hear more about her, before making the experiment. I do not know whether she is pious or not. It is a general objection to all these men that they have, I suppose, possessions not far from the borders of the Osage nation, which would be likely to occupy a share of their attention. And, as Mr. Wheeler says, they don't appear like real Yankees, and Osage missionaries ought to be real Yankees.'"

"Whether we follow Samuel's logic or not, we can agree with his conclusion; Mr. Redfield would not have done. . . . As to Samuel, he had seen those virtues that he held most important in missionaries best represented in Yankees; he was demanding, for the Osages as well as for the Cherokees, the best he knew."

Alethea Bass was writing the life story of Rev. Samuel Worcester when she penned the above lines. Rev. Worcester was a veteran missionary among the Cherokee Indians. He established the printing plant at Union after that station was closed, which he later moved to Park Hill and continued to operate in printing religious books and pamphlets in the Indian languages until his death in 1859.

PART IV

The Neosho Mission was the first mission and the first school ever established in what is now the state of Kansas by any religious denomination. It was started in September 1824 by Rev. Benton Pixley and wife, on the west side of the Neosho river not far from the present town of Shaw, Neosho County, Kansas, in a beautiful, fertile valley, a very inviting spot. It took its name from the river on which it was located. The report of the missionary said this of the location: (1)

"Neosho is about in the center of the Osage reservation from north to south, just within the eastern line of that reservation, and without the western line of Missouri. The face of the country is neither level nor mountainous, but what is called a rolling prairie. There are few trees, except on the banks of the river and smaller streams. The soil is good and capable of producing in great abundance, the necessities and comforts of life. If the Indians should become moderately industrious, their external circumstances would be rapidly improved; and they could soon get all the implements which are required in the ordinary progress of agriculture from a rude to a more perfect state."

Shortly before the Louisiana Purchase and while the Spaniards were yet in control of the region west of the Mississippi, Manual Lisa, a Creole Spaniard, (2) obtained an exclusive concession to trade with the Indian tribes in the valley of the Missouri river and its tributaries. The Osages then lived on the Osage river, a tributary of the Missouri, and within the country covered by Lisa's grant. The French Chouteau Brothers, of St. Louis, had been in virtual control of this trade since it began, and, in order to retain the Osage trade, induced part of the tribe to move to the Neosho and Verdigris valleys in what is now Oklahoma, which region was drained by the Arkansas river instead of the Missouri, and hence outside of Lisa's grant. This was accomplished about 1802. (3) The trade controversy did not however, interfere with the friendly relations existing between the then separated factions of the Osages, and they continued to visit back and forth. The trips, whether made afoot or horseback, always, Indian fashion, followed a trail best suited for travel, the most direct route that, at the same time offered the least resistance and the most conveniences. There were no fields, no fences, no section lines, no modern roads, to divert their line of travel. The roads were usually beaten paths made by their frequent use, and were known by the early white settlers as Indian trails. The whites made use of some of them for many years. An exceptionally good ford on the Neosho river not far from where the Neosho Mission was located, had played its part in causing one of the

1. 18th Annual Report of A.B.C.F.M., Oct. 1827, p. 136.

2. Hcuck's History of Missouri, V. 1. p. 34.

3. Handbook of American Indians, by F. W. Hodge, V. 2, p. 157. Gov't Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 2nd edition, 1912.

trails connecting the Arkansas and Missouri factions of the Osages to pass that way. The Missouri Osages, in traveling this trail, became familiar with the country near the ford, liked it, and it was natural that, when they later began their movements westward and southward, that they should select that locality for their home.

Just when the members of the Missouri Osages began locating on the Neosho river in Kansas, is not definitely known, but a number came as early as 1815. (4) During the next six years there was probably a slow drift of Osages, but in 1822, a larger exodus began. The most authentic record of this removal is found in the Journals of the Missionaries then located at Harmony and Union. Under date of September 5, 1822, this appeared in the Harmony Journal: (5)

"The most of the White Hair's people have gone on their fall hunt. It is understood that they do not intend to return to their late residence but to establish themselves sixty or seventy miles from this station."

Instead of going direct to their future home, it appears they went on a tour of inspection, or perhaps it was a friendly visit to their tribal brethren down on Grand River, for the Union Journal of September 26, 1822, says:

"Mr. August P. Cheauteau with a party of Indians from White Hair's village called here. A boat of his had arrived at the mouth of Grand River with goods to trade with the Indians. He intends to form an establishment on this river above this place and states that White Hair's people have left their town with the intention of moving to this river." (6)

On October 17, 1822, the same Journal recorded this: (7)

"Last evening arrived a company of White Hair's Indians. This is the first visit from that part of the nation. It appears that they are in an unsettled state and have not selected a place for their new home."

On November 13, 1822, this entry was made in the same Journal: (8)

"Augustus P. Chouteau has now established himself at the place formerly occupied by Mr. Revoir, (about 15 miles north of Union) who was killed by the Indians. On Monday Mr. Pixley went up for the purpose of being with the Indians."

4. Connally's History of Kansas, V. 1, p. 225, quotes Major Sibley's letter of 1820.

5. Both Union and Harmcny missions kept a daily journal from their beginning to 1826. The original of the Union Journal is in the archives of the Oklahoma State Historical Society in Oklahoma City. The text of the Harmony journal was published in serial form in the Missionary Register. The quotations herein are all by the date rather than the page. Rev. Pixley kept a separate journal on some cf his tours. These were also published in the Missionary Register.

6. Ibid, Union Journal, Sept. 26, 1822.

7. Ibid, Union Journal, Oct. 17, 1822.

8. Same, Nov. 13, 1822.

Rev. Pixley, in his Journal, November 16, 1822, said this: (9)

"On arriving here, found myself in the midst of Indians, many of whom I was fairly acquainted with at White Hair's village. Chauteau treats me very handsomely."

Two days later, Rev. Pixley made this entry: (10)

"I have been in the midst of a crowd of Indians all day. Chauteau is wise to get their trade. He feeds them abundantly, and probably from this one cause greatly extends his influence among them. Last night Clamore the Chief of the Osages of the Arkansas, gave a speech to White Hair, Chief of the Great Osages, in the name of his warriors, inviting him to come with his people and build a village near his. White Hair and his principal men will determine on this some time in the winter. Thus everything is constantly change with respect to this people, and literally you cannot tell where they will be, or what tomorrow will bring forth."

This body of Osages went farther south on a bear hunt for about three weeks, arriving home on January 11, 1823, where the main body remained for some time near the Chouteau trading post. Rev. Pixley accompanied them on the hunting trip, and spent much of his time with them until February 3, when he went up the river about ninety miles to where part of the Missouri Osages had already located. In his diary or journal, under the above date, Rev. Pixley made this entry: (11)

"I am now at the trading establishment about ninety miles up the Grand River, (Neosho) or the Six Bulls, and have made a successful journey thus far on my way home (to Harmony). But where the Indians will settle or fix their village, it is impossible yet to ascertain. The influence and interests of different traders undoubtedly distract their minds. Thus they are divided among themselves, some preferring one location, and some another."

There appears to be no definite information of the movements of White Hair's band during the following few weeks. The Harmony Journal says Rev. Pixley and Rev. Montgomery went over to the Indian village on the Neosho on April 11, and that they built a small house in which to live while there. (12) However, the Indians were yet undecided, for the same Journal, on July 11, 1823, said, "The whole tribe are talking about returning to their former village near the station (Harmony)." (13) In August of the same year these Indians went to Harmony to receive their annuities. On August 20, 1823, the Journal said:

"The Indians assembled today to hear the talk of the Agent and to receive their annuities. In his talk, the Agent requested them to decide whether they would live at Neosho, or at the Osage river, that he might know where to build houses for his interpreter and blacksmith. They finally determined to remain at Neosho." (14)

9. Rev. Pixley's Journal, Nov. 16, 1822.

10. Same, Nov. 18, 1822.

11. Same, Feb. 3, 1823.

12. Harmony Journal, May 7, 1823.

13. Same, July 11, 1823, A.M. Register Dec. 1823, p. 373.

14. Same, August 20, 1823; A.M. Register, Jan. 1824. p. 28.

The next day the Indians returned to the Neosho, and Rev. Pixley accompanied them that he might study their language. The above date may be taken as definitely fixing the Neosho as the permanent home of the White Hair and associated bands of Osages, an event which later caused the Neosho Mission to be established.

The Beginning of the Mission.

No great number of Osages remained in the vicinity of Harmony after August 1823. Some of the Little Osages had also transferred their abiding place to the Neosho, but farther up the stream. There is mention in the Journal of one Little Osage village being located about fourteen miles from Harmony after the above date. While several Osage children remained at the school, and continued to do so for some time, there were murmurs of the distance from home. The Mission itself, which was just now getting well established, was confronted with a new situation which had not been anticipated at the beginning two years before. Those frequent contacts with the adults so necessary for successful missionary effort were rendered quite difficult because of distance. At first an effort was made to maintain those contacts by frequent visits to the new villages, but it was no easy task to travel seventy miles on horseback across an open prairie at all seasons of the year. Revs. Pixley and Montgomery tried spending several days at a time on the Neosho, studying the language and endeavoring to evangelize the Indians, but these temporary efforts developed no systematic plan that augured success. At a meeting of the Mission Family at Harmony on June 7, 1824, the new situation was discussed, the result being as shown in this Journal entry: (15)

"A committee was appointed to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a branch of this Mission near the present Indian village for the double purpose of enabling the brethren studying the language to remain constantly with the Indians, and for leading and assisting those poor people in forming fixed settlements, and entering into the cultivation of the earth."

A Journal entry on July 12, 1824, shows the report of the committee and the adoption of these resolutions: (16)

"Whereas, it appears to be the wish of the government to locate the Osages they being equally disposed, fifty or sixty miles from this establishment, and whereas brethren Pixley and Montgomery seem to be under the necessity of being constantly among the Indians, both to learn their language and to communicate religious instruction; therefore

"Resolved, That we take measures to form a small, economical, agricultural establishment near the present village, for the comfort and strengthening of the brethren under the necessity of being there—also to encourage and help the Indians in the use of their means, to cultivate fields, to build houses, and thus become fixed and permanent, as well as comfortable in their place of residence.

15. Same, June 7, 1824; A.M. Register, Oct. 1824, p. 309.
16. Same, July 12, 1824; A. M. Register, Nov. 1824, p. 333.

2nd. Resolved, That we appoint Samuel B. Bright, farmer, to go forward, associated with the brethren before named, and at the most suitable and most convenient place erect the necessary buildings, and at the proper time transport his family and necessary effects there, and enter fully on the business which concurring circumstances and the objects designed by these resolutions demand.

3rd. Resolved, That in forming this establishment, there shall be no cash expended in erecting buildings, or in clearing, fencing and cultivating fields.

Two other resolutions provided for obtaining the approbation of the Indians and the concurrence of the American Board.

The Journal for the following day shows the adoption of resolutions favoring the establishment of a similar branch mission among the Little Osages on the Neosho, but this movement met with a cool reception on the part of the Little Osages, and was abandoned.

On August 2, 1824, Rev. Pixley went over to the Neosho (17) to arrange for the removal of his family. In the Journal for September 15, 1825, this entry appears: (18)

"Solemnly and interesting were the exercises this morning. We met on the banks of the river, and united in singing and prayer, commanding brother Pixley and family to the care of the Almighty God. They took their departure for a residence on the Ne-o-sho river, near the Osage village. Brother Pixley will occupy the house of a trader, and incur no expense on account of buildings. He took supplies for three months."

This movement received the approval of the Board of the United Foreign Missionary Society, as shown by its report in the American Missionary Register for January 1825. Mr. Bright did not move to the Neosho Mission until September 1825. (19) The actual beginning of Neosho Mission was about two days after September 15, 1824, when Rev. Pixley and his family arrived there and took up their abode. Morrison says (20)

"Pixley selected a site for the mission in a stately oak grove about one mile west of the Neosho river and forty rods from a small natural lake, near what is now Shaw, Kansas, Neosho County. He set to work felling trees preparatory to building a log house for his home in the coming spring. He continued at this work during the fall and winter, having at the same time to provide wild game for the sustenance of his family. In the spring white men came from Harmony and assisted him in erecting a large house. Another log house was built at the same time for a school room for the Osage children, and hewn log seats were placed in it. This room was also used as a church for the adult Osages on the Sabbath.

"In the spring of 1826 (?), Samuel B. Bright, instructor in farming at Harmony, came to live with the Pixleys. Ground was plowed and crops were planted and cultivated. The Osages assisted with the crops and an abundance of beans, watermelons, pumpkins and 260 bushels of corn were produced. (21) These were probably the

17. Same, August 2, 1824, A.M. Register, Dec. 1824, p. 363.

18. Same. Sept. 15, 1824; A.M. Register, Jan. 1825, p. 24.

19. Same, Sept. 7, 1825; A.M. Register, Dec. 1825, p. 370.

20. T. F. Morrison, Chanute, Kas., in Kansas Historical Quarterly, Aug. 1935, p. 228-9.

21. Annual Report, A.B.C.F.M., 1826, p. 136.

first crops of the sort produced by white men in Kansas. . . . An attempt was made to teach the Osages how to farm, but no mention is made of their agricultural pursuits after their work with the first crop in 1826.

"From 1825 to 1828 Neosho Mission was a busy place. The Indian children came daily for two months in each year to the school, and Missionary Pixley was expected to see that the noonday lunch was provided for them. Here, too, came the squaws with their small children to beg for food, while the Indian men gambled in their skin tents and bark houses in the Indian villages. The Great Osages lived in a village four miles down the Neosho river and the Little Osages lived a few miles up stream. Strange bands of Indians came frequently to pilfer and steal and make war on the Osages. Amidst all these exciting and dangerous surroundings, eighty-five miles distant from the nearest white settlement, this lone missionary labored, prayed, preached and taught the untutored savages, truly one of the heroes of Christianity."

The report of the American Board for 1827 said this about the early work at this mission: (22)

"When permission was asked to come and live in this neighborhood, the leading men said that though they were pleased with the proposal, they were apprehensive that they could not restrain their young men from stealing or injuring the property of the missionaries. Not much property, however, was conveyed thither. The establishment was commenced in quite an humble style. Mr. Pixley and his family resided here without anyone to share in the labors for more than a year. They were then joined by Mr. Bright from Harmony, who worked as a farmer till he was recalled at the beginning of the present year, 1827, to supply the same kind of service at the larger station which he had left and where his aid was imperiously demanded. In the year of 1826, the field at the little station produced 260 bushels of corn; and the expense of supporting the mission families was moderate.

"The Osages set out on their great hunting expedition about the first of September and do not return until the last of January; and they are not stationary more than four or five months in the year. This circumstance in their condition renders it extremely difficult to do them much good. By residing among them, Mr. Pixley has learned much of their character, habits and customs; and has considered and examined all the methods which have occurred to his mind of gaining access to them. He does not despair of the grace of God ultimately reaching them; but the whole subject seems as yet much shrouded in darkness. By various acts of kindness, he had apparently succeeded in convincing them of his disinterestedness; but these convictions, in the minds of the savages, are extremely faint and evanescent."

Two letters written by Rev. Pixley from Neosho appear elsewhere, one under the heading, "As the Missionaries Saw Them," and the other under "Missionaries Encouraged." They might properly belong under this heading. In another letter he gives this interesting account of the people among whom he labored: (23)

"A boy of ten or twelve years of age, was lounging about my house, without clothing and apparently without shame. When I inquired the cause of his thus being destitute, his mother gave as a reason, that they were poor, and had no clothing. I accordingly gave him an old gray garment which would have been an abundant covering, according to the Indian fashion. But as he still continued to go in the same condition as formerly, I inquired the cause and was told by his

22. Ibid.

23. *Missionary Herald*, March 1828, p. 79.

mother, 'that he was ashamed to put on the cloth I gave him, because it was not blue,' that being the color of cloth uniformly sold by the traders to the Indians. Poor creatures! They are ashamed of nothing of which they ought to be ashamed, but are ashamed of anything that is virtuous and praiseworthy."

Rev. Pixley kept a journal from which these interesting entries are taken. It is dated "Osage country, two days ride from Harmony, and three days ride from Union, March 16, 1825:" (24)

Jan. 26, 1825—This morning, with the design of speaking to the Indians about God, and the things of another world, in a broken manner as I might be able, I went to their village, about a mile from my place of residence. When I came near, at a little distance off, on the prairie, I discovered some women coming to the town crying. I supposed they were returning from the hunt, and, as is their custom, had begun to cry on account of some that were dead, as they approached the town. On their arrival, as I was approaching, from another quarter a tumultuous cry was set up, and directly, forth came two young men, an old man and two young women, evidently in great rage, some with hatchets, and others with knives, in a menacing attitude, directing their course down the path along which I was walking. Knowing that something had taken place uncommon, I inquired the cause and found that W's old wife, which he had abandoned for another younger, had, according to the custom of the country in such cases, been inflicting the usual punishment on the young wife by hacking her head with a knife in a shocking manner; and these that I met in their rage, were the father, brothers and sisters of the young wife, going with the menaces of death, to the old woman and her family. The old man's lodge was close along side of mine. Alarmed at the appearance, and determined to do what I could prudently to prevent bloodshed and slaughter I immediately turned and walked back with them, all the way endeavoring to soften their angry feelings, and to bring into view the consequences that would result from such a catastrophe. As we drew near the lodge, I went forward to give the alarm, supposing they would be ignorant of the intended attack. But the old woman was ready to meet them at the door. She said she wanted to die; she wanted to go to the place of the dead; she was tired of carrying wood on her back, and borrowing an ax to chop it with, etc. A parley, however, took place at the door, and the enraged combatants, unwilling to expose their lives where so little was likely to be gained, bade the family a defiance and returned.

"Now let it not be forgotten that the cause of this brutal affair, is a white man, who, not content with one wife, takes another, and another, and when this disaster happened, is said to have had two, on whom the old woman inflicted the like exemplary punishment. I did think formerly, that white men were in some measure, as they ought to be, examples of good among this people. But actual observation has opened my eyes to see, that not a few of the bad practices of the Indians are abetted, or introduced by white men.

"Jan. 28—Having this morning heard the cry of a little boy as in distress, and women, as usual on such occasions, setting up their cry also, I inquired the cause, and found that they were perforating the boy's ears to put in ornaments, and a neighboring woman had come in to cry for him during the operation. This voluntary crying is considered a great honor to the family for whom it is done, and must not fail to be rewarded by a feast or some presents. To the woman who cried in this case was given by the family of the little boy, a quantity of dried pumpkins and corn; and immediately the whole was converted into a feast to which a general invitation was given. The same thing I have seen in repeated instances when parents have attempted to correct their children for bad conduct. Some woman sets

up a cry for them, and even will cause the tears to run down the cheeks. By this the family is considered greatly honored; the punishment of the child is suspended, and of course, in return a present of some kind is made to the woman. From this cause few offences are punished. Hence covetousness and cupidity, in order to be gratified, feed pride; lay aside their common habiliments, and assume the pacific garb of mercy. It is certainly worthy of notice, in gratitude to the Supreme Being, that the passions are so much like ravenous birds, always ready to prey upon one another, and are thus found counteracting each other in a manner very important to the happiness of those who have naught but the light of nature to direct them. We may perhaps be led to sigh at such exhibition of human nature, but an impartial survey of our own customs might lead us to reserve these sighs for ourselves. And here I cannot help mentioning the surprise the Indians manifest at our having among us such men as duelists, (for they have been told these things by foolish white men, as proof of American courage). It is not, however, the courage manifested by the two men who will thus stand and shoot at one another, that surprises them—it is the madness and folly. They call it "tam stha wattanger," applying their highest superlative to words meaning headstrong obstinacy, or, no care to listen to advice."

Rev. Pixley conducted a school at the Neosho Mission which is classed by historical writers as the first school in what is now the state of Kansas. This school was opened in 1824 but not much is known of its progress. It was taught by Rev. Pixley and his wife, and since they had no buildings for housing boarders, their pupils were only those living in the locality. Mr. Bright and his wife resided at the mission for a year or two and had charge of the agricultural and domestic science departments. The school closed in the spring of 1829.

Neosho Mission Closes.

The Neosho Mission, the first to close, appears to have had the most abrupt and unfriendly ending of any of the five Presbyterian missions among the Osages. Boudinot and Hopefield No. 3, had similar endings, but apparently in a much lesser degree. The difficulties that brought disaster to the Neosho Mission seem to have started soon after its establishment, and gradually increased in intensity until the climax came four years later.

On Christmas day, 1828, Rev. Pixley wrote that "I never have felt myself more at home among the Osages than at present. I never had more of their confidence; and indeed, never had higher hopes of eventual success." (1) Yet on February 20, 1829, less than two months later, the office of Indian Affairs at Washington suggested to the American Board that, because of the disturbed situation, they remove him. The exact date of his removal is not given, but it was only a few weeks later. It is difficult to reconcile the above statement with those made by others about the same time, unless it be that there were two factions among the Osages, and Rev. Pixley referred only to the faction friendly to him. No definite reasons for his recall were

1. *Missionary Record*, p. 316.

stated in the official papers. However, the conclusions that may be drawn from contemporary evidence and circumstances are more to the credit of Rev. Pixley than one might be led to believe. An examination of that evidence is here made.

A few Osage families had been persuaded to establish homes near the mission, much after the fashion of those at Hopefield, to engage in husbandry to such an extent that they were producing their own subsistence, and thereby finding it less necessary that they join the other members in their hunting expeditions. Apparently they were contented and were progressing nicely. To this extent the missionary was accomplishing his commendable objects, and fulfilling his obligations to those who sent him. This colony was later dispersed by the agent in his efforts to dislodge the missionary.

The unfriendliness, and sometimes open opposition of the white traders to missionary activities had been mentioned several times heretofore. Much of that opposition had for its basis the fear that if the missionary won the Indians over to the ways of civilization, the hunts would be abandoned and the fur trade thereby destroyed, or at least greatly diminished. To the traders, this would be intolerable. Fear of interference with their immoral personal conduct was also a prominent factor.

Catlin quotes Major Dougherty, United States agent for the Pawnees, as saying: (2)

"It is my decided opinion, that so long as the fur traders and trappers are permitted to reside among the Indians, all the efforts of the government to better their condition will be fruitless; or in a great measure checked by the strong influence of those men over the various tribes.

"Every exertion of the agents (and all persons intended to carry into effect the views of the government and humane societies) are in such direct opposition to the trader and his interests, that the agent finds himself continually contending with, and placed in direct and immediate contrariety of interest, to the fur traders, or grossly neglecting his duty by overlooking acts of impropriety; and it is a curious and melancholy fact, that while the general government is using every means and expense to promote the advancement of those aboriginal people, it is at the same time suffering the traders to oppose and defeat the very objects of its intentions."

The letters of the missionaries quoted herein confirm this opinion as applying to the Osage country. The following letter written by Rev. Pixley four months after he moved to Neosho, tells of the situation there: (3)

"Little else remains necessary in a physical and unpolitical point of view to direct these Indians in their present state to almost any kind of conduct but an agent from their Great Father duly authorized to take them by the hand and give them frequent instruction. What their Great Father says they always profess a readiness

2. North American Indians, By George Catlin, V. 2, p. 29.

3. Rev. Pixley to Thos. L. McKenney, War Department, January 7, 1825. Original in National Archives Department of Interior, Washington, D. C. Photostat copies in possession of W. W. Graves, St. Paul, Kas.

to do. And no doubt an agent frequently among them clothed with the proper authority and with a few presents might in a little time effectively put a stop to all those predatory excursions which every year—and sometimes three or four times a year carry them to the west. Tis however but once in a year we have been in a habit of having the agent appear, and then it is more like a man journeying through the country than like a father seeing to and taking charge of a numerous family. The substitute indeed is here, but the Indians know him and treat him only as a trader which truly is his entire and undisguised business, so that the benefit gained by his presence is small, especially as his morals in some points of view are too loose to be pleasing even to the Indians themselves. This comes of the most distinguished Indians having frequently told me and have desired my concurrence and influence with the agent to have him removed. Tis now some months since they have been deeply agitated and interested about the coming of their new agent and location of the trade, but the agent does not yet appear. . . . Now tis my hearty wish and fervent prayer if the executive should attend the necessity of making this appointment that they should endeavor to have it such an one as is not an enemy of religion and religious instructions. I know there are such who have sought this appointment.

"There are some who think the Indians may be civilized without religious instruction and that those whom the government has encouraged to come among them to improve their condition and teach them knowledge have nothing to do in teaching them the knowledge of God and the way of salvation. But we trust that the executives think differently and therefore hope that in the appointment of so much magnitude, those who seek it might not be so considered as those for whose benefit the appointment is made."

The situation above outlined is bad enough in itself, but when we add to this the fickleness, and perhaps opposition of some agents it is easy to conjecture what an intolerable situation might develop. Rev. Charles VanQuickenborne, S. J., who visited the Osages on the Neosho in August 1827, with the intention of establishing a Catholic mission, found so many obstacles that he indefinitely postponed the idea; and it was not until 1847 that such a mission was established among the Osages. In reporting the situation to his superiors, he spoke thus of the fickleness of the agents, or rather the sub-agents there: (4)

"These, like the traders, are mostly keeping Indian women. To my personal knowledge Mr. Hamtramck has none, yet since some time he has left off the practice of his religion. A missionary living in the nation would easily offend them. Once offended, they have it in their power to make the situation of the missionary so cruel that he could not stand it. The Protestant missionary who lives at the Indian village gets nearly every week a good flogging from some or other Indian fellow."

The attitude of the Osage mind in regard to a radical change, a reversal, as it were, in matters of religion, afforded the enemies of the missionary a means of inciting such opposition as resulted in the indignities above stated.

The traders exerted a powerful influence over the Osages on the Neosho as well as elsewhere. Allied with them were the sub-agents who shared in the spoils of the trade, and most of them were unre-

4. VanQuickenborne to Rev. Dzierozynski, as quoted by Rev. Garraghan in the *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, V. 1, p. 191.

strained polygamists without ceremonies. They managed affairs to suit their own interests rather than those of the Indians, yet in such a way as to hold the Indian friendships. Read again the statement of Major Dougherty previously quoted. Religion held no friendly place in their minds. When religion interfered with their plans, it was treated as an enemy. The religion of the Indians had no code of morals, hence presented no obstacles to the pernicious vices of the traders. Not so with that of the missionary.

This was the background of the situation on the Neosho when the Rev. Mr. Pixley first located there. The dominant evils, to him, were not only deplorable, but so intolerable as to demand immediate action. In this he did not hesitate. It is not probable that Rev. Pixley followed any course that was not fully justifiable or commendable according to the Christian code, but it is believed that his methods were so unwise, or more properly speaking, undiplomatic, that the backfire ultimately caused his recall from the station. His was a single "voice crying in the wilderness" against entrenched enemies, with the sounds falling on unfriendly, or even hostile and revengeful ears. He was a most sincere man, but so strongly Puritanical in his views, that he could not restrain himself from a direct frontal attack against the entrenched evils, rather than follow a slower diplomatic process that would have been less provocative of violent opposition, and more certain of ultimate success. His preaching aimed at curing the evils at a single blow, but it had the effect of exciting without instructing. He failed to see that patience was even more necessary than ardor, that zeal must have the support of prudence. The army general who openly makes a frontal attack on the fort seldom captures it, while a more cautious military man who seeks the vulnerable points and acts accordingly often wins.

The traders fought back at the missionary by playing the religion of the natives against his. In this they were backed by the Indian medicine men, and by Indian traditions of long standing. It was an Osage tradition that before a young man could qualify for the cherished position of warrior, he must prove his bravery and his fitness by killing an enemy and taking a scalp. This had been taught to them by their ancestors as a traditional requirement for this, to them, highly honorable position, which carried with it special rights to participate in tribal affairs. Another tradition taught the necessity of getting a human scalp to help a deceased warrior on his way to the happy hunting ground; another justified plural wives at the pleasure of the man, while another glorified the young man who could steal the most horses. These were just as much a part of their belief as the Ten Commandments are part of the Christian belief. The, to them, new religion preached by a strange missionary of another race, branded these practices in which they held firm belief, as not only wrong, but

such as merited severe punishment. It meant the uprooting of deep-seated beliefs, the practice of ages, for something entirely new, different and vague to them, and based solely on the word of the missionary. It was not difficult to get a large number of Osages to protest against this unwanted change, and the traders were not slow in embracing this opportunity to arouse opposition to the preacher. They carried it so far as to provoke open hostility. They aroused the ire of some of the young warriors to such a pitch that they laid violent hands on Rev. Pixley. In November 1828, P. L. Chouteau and David Bailey testified that "he (Rev. Pixley) had had two or three fists and cuffs fights with the men of the towns and once with Honeage, the first chief of these towns." Bailey individually testified that "I was an eye witness at one time, although at a short distance from them, when an Osage whipped him with a blanket and slapped him in the face with his hand." (5) These two cases serve to confirm what Rev. VanQuickenborne had previously stated. However, in no one of Rev. Pixley's reports, complaints or letters did he ever make mention of any violence being shown him.

Rev. Pixley was also complaining to the government about the non-resident agent, and the misconduct of the resident sub-agents, much to the dislike of those affected, and which intensified the campaign of opposition to him. Being a man of courage, and fortified by full faith in the righteousness of his cause and in the final triumph of God's laws, Rev. Pixley continued his fight single handed and alone up to the very day the order came for him to leave. He was recalled over his protest, and later even asked permission to return.

Trouble With the Agents.

Rev. Pixley complained to the government that the non-resident agent could do very little for the Indians because of the fewness and briefness of his visits to the tribe. Gov. McNair, who served as agent from 1824 until his death in 1826, lived in St. Louis, and made only an annual visit to the tribe. His sub-agents were traders whose interest in the Indians was confined to the business of the Indian trade. Rev. Pixley contended that these, agency shortcomings were responsible for many of the delinquencies of the tribe, and his protests were sincerely earnest. Not only did he protest to the government, but he also protested to Gov McNair on his visit to the Neosho in January 1825, and with much vehemence. Writing of this later, A. P. Chouteau said, "In his first interview with Gov. McNair and Gen. Atkinson, a quarrel ensued in which Mr. Pixley was the aggressor." (6)

5. These statements are made as part of the evidence filed against Rev. Pixley by Major Hamtramck, November 27, 1828; originals on file and photostat copies as in No. 3, above.
6. Same as No. 5.

Gov. McNair died early in 1826, and Rev. Pixley renewed his effort. Concerning the appointment of a new agent, he wrote to Thos. L. McKenney: (7)

"Since a new agent is to be appointed, how fervently I desire and pray he may be such an one as these miserable Osages need, not a man who from his appointment expects to live at his ease on the salary but who shall feel he has a weight of care and a great duty to perform. Let me repeat it, an agent residing in St. Louis and only riding among the subjects of his agency twice or three times a year does but little for their good compared with what he might do if he lived on the ground—gave them laws and attended to their faithful execution. Only give this people laws suited to their situation and a present agent to stimulate industry and frown on vice and indolence—one who should be as a father among his children and these continual difficulties of fighting, and stealing and plundering from one another would soon be done away. . . . I say this much because I know the order of government was intended to be partially if not wholly evaded as it relates to this subject by the man recently dead."

This appeal brought results, for when Major Hamtramck was appointed agent to succeed Gov. McNair, he went direct to the Osage country and established his home there, no doubt by the explicit order of the Interior Department at Washington. No doubt it was against his will to do this, for his first official act after his arrival was inimical to the missionary. The new agent ordered all the Osages then settled around the mission to remove to the regular Indian village some miles distant, and he established his own headquarters, as well as the government farmer and mechanic working under him, on the spot vacated by these settlers. (8) A controversy was thereby started, which in due time brought this order to Rev. Pixley: (9)

"St. Louis, Jan. 30, 1828.

"To the Rev. Mr. Pixley,

Sir: By the 10 articles of a treaty concluded at St. Louis on the 2nd of June 1825, between Gen. Clark, supt. of Indian Affairs, and commissioner on the part of the United States, and the chiefs, headmen and warriors of the Osage nation the missionary establishments at Harmony and Union are to be disposed of as the president of the U. S. shall direct and the establishment to be made at the principal villages of the Great and Little Osages. The missionaries cannot therefore be located at any place on the Osage reservation other than the principal villages. If you are considered as a missionary you will immediately remove from where you have located yourself without permission and establish your residence at the Little Osage village. If you are not so considered you will leave the Osage reservation with all dispatch. I have the honor to be

Respectfully,

J. F. Hamtramck, U. S. Indian Agt. for Osages.

From this time on the controversy seemed to grow more bitter. Rev. Pixley defended his position with a statement that he was located there before the treaty of 1825 was made, and that his status was

7. Rev. Pixley to McKenney, April 27, 1828. Original and photostat as No. 3, above.
8. Pixley to J. Barber, sec. of war, April 7, 1828. Original and photostat as in No. 3, above.
9. Quoted in above letter. See No. 8.

not changed by it. There are on file in the Indian Archives in Washington several letters relative to this controversy, photostat copies of which are in possession of this writer. Some of the letters were written by Rev. Pixley in his own defense. Some of the letters written in defense of Major Hamstramck were signed by P. L. Chouteau, Robert Mott, Marcus Aderton, Samuel Bailey and B. Brannin who branded the statements made by Rev. Pixley as false. Since these persons were appointees or associates of the agent, the bias of their statements is open to question. No points were brought out by either side that were not the outgrowth of conditions set forth above: or that might have enough historical value to justify recording here. However, the White Hair band of Osages took the side of the agent, as will be seen from the following:

Osages Ask for Removal of Reverend Pixley.

In the Archives at Washington is found the original copy of this letter from some of the Osages asking for the removal of Rev. Pixley:

White Hair's Town of Great Osages, August 25th, 1828.

Father, From the moment the missionaries came among us, we gave them the hand of friendship.

Father, We gave them our lands, we gave them our children.

Father, We moved our people toward the setting sun and left the missionaries two days march towards the rising sun.

Father, One of them followed us, and has been living on our land though we gave them enough land for all of them to live on.

Father, We do not wish him to live here.

Father, He has quarrelled with our men and women and we hear he has also quarreled with all the white men who our Great Father has sent here to do us good and to live among us.

Father, We have enough of white people among us without him, even if he was good, but he is a bad man, is doing no good here, but a evil, is living on our land, quarrels with our men and women, forgets his black coat and fights them, finds fault with all, disturbs our peace, and many other things which you know and we have not time now to tell you.

Father, We hope you will make him leave our country.

Father, The missionaries at Harmony are near enough, we do not wish them to come on our land to live.

Father, We hope you may live long and be happy, and we sign oureslves to this paper.

(Signed)

Pa-hu-ska, White Hair,

Great Chief of the Osage Nation.

Chin-ga-wa-sa, Fine Bird,

First Counselor.

Ha-ra-tia, War Eagle,

First War Leader.

Wa-no-pa-chee, Fearless,

Great Warrior.

All the above signatures were by mark.

Signed in presence of

P. L. Chouteau, sub-agent.

N. Pryor, sub-agent.

B. Morgan, interpreter.

Gen. Wm. Clark, who was superintendent of Indian affairs in the west, sustained the position of Rev. Pixley in this letter: (11)

"Mr. Pixley, a missionary residing among the Osages, who was complained of, is authorized by me to remain (by request of the late visiting agents, Messrs. Kingsbury and Greene) until further advised. The agent (who has not been as much at his post as was desired) will, it is hoped, become better acquainted with the Indian character, and incline to support the benevolent acts of those missionaries who are exerting themselves to better the condition of the Indians."

In reply to the above, Gen. Clark received this letter from Col. Thos. L. McKenney, of the Office of Indian Affairs: (12)

"The Secretary of War directs me to enclose to you a copy of the Rev. Mr. Pixley's letter to him; and to request that you adopt such measures in your discretion as shall best insure justice to the Indians upon the one hand; and the United States on the other—and that you on ascertaining that Major Hamtramck has not conformed in all respects to the known regards of the government to those who are employed under its auspices in meliorating the condition of the Indians, of whom Mr. Pixley is one, you will admonish him. It is to be regretted that such terms were used by the agent as appear in the copy of his letter to the Rev. Mr. Pixley.

"Every respect will be paid to Mr. Pixley, as well in regard to his location, and feelings, which the treaty, the regulations of the Department, or the wishes of the Indians may permit.

"It is to be hoped when Major Hamtramck shall become better acquainted with the worth of these excellent people he may feel inclined to be more respectful to them."

Gen. Clark conducted an investigation into the affairs on the Neosho, during which he received the letters of P. L. Chouteau et al, as stated in a previous paragraph, together with other evidence, all of which he submitted to the War Department. As a result, this letter was sent to the corresponding secretary of the American Board, February 20, 1829: (13)

"In July last a letter was received from the Rev. Mr. Pixley of which I enclose you a copy No. 1. On which I addressed one to General Clark, see copy No. 2. Proceedings were accordingly instituted. The result is disclosed in two papers, the originals of which I enclose herewith. Without entering into the controversy either way, prudence appears to dictate the removal of Mr. Pixley. This operation is referred to you."

To the above, David Greene, secretary of the American Board, made this reply, dated, "Missionary Rooms, Boston, 13th of March 1829: (14)

"Although the committee of the Board have not, as yet, had opportunity to give all the attention to the case which they may wish, and to decide on the necessary

11. Clark to Co. Thos. L. McKenney, St. Louis, July 3, 1828. Original and photostat as in No. 3, above.
12. McKenney to Clark, July 22, 1828, Original and photostat as in No. 3.
13. McKenney to Jeremiah Evarts, cor. sec of A.B.C.F.M., Feb. 20, 1829. Original and photostat as at No. 3. Indian office letter book No. 5, June 5, 1828-June 7, 1829.
14. David Greene, assistant secretary of A.B.C.F.M. to McKenney, March 13, 1829. Original and photostat as at No. 3, above.

arrangements, yet I presume they will be disposed to pursue such course as will be satisfactory to the officers of the government, and make the arrangements as soon as practical."

The date on which Rev. Pixley closed the Neosho Mission and departed from the Osage country is not stated in any available record, but it was probably in March 1829. The report of the American Board for 1829, gives this brief statement of the closing: (15)

"In the course of last Autumn and winter, a difficulty arose between Mr. Pixley and the agent, which ultimately made it necessary that the station should be relinquished for the present. Mr. Pixley is not censured by the committee. On the contrary, they deeply sympathize with him, on account of the injurious treatment which he received; and especially on account of the trial which he experienced, in being obliged to leave the poor natives without a teacher, after he had so far acquired the language of the people, as to make himself understood by means of it. In the circumstances of the case, the committee could not take any other course than to advise him to retire from the opposition, which they had excited against him by the most profligate means. He therefore removed his family to the white settlement in Missouri, whence he is expected to return to the mission whenever a suitable opening is found."

Thus ended the first mission and school ever established on what is now Kansas soil. However, from this statement in the report of the American Board for 1830, it appears that an effort was made to re-open it: (16)

"The departure of Mr. Pixley from this station was noticed, with the cause of it, in the last report. During the last winter, the mission family at Harmony thought it very important that the station should be reoccupied; and as the hostility of the agent was professedly against Mr. Pixley personally, and not against missionary operations at the place, it was thought advisable by them that Mr. Dodge, who had resided, with his family, during the previous year at Independence, Missouri, should remove there. He accordingly did early in the spring."

Rev. Dodge went to the Neosho, and after carefully examining the situation, selected a site ten miles farther down stream, and opened a station which he called Boudinot.

As a sequel to the above, the following letter is interesting: (17)

Department of War, 31st March, 1830.

to Major J. F. Hamtramck,

"Sir: The president has heard with regret the disturbances which are likely to arise on the western frontier, between the Osages and other tribes. Information is received here that the Osage Indians are about to proceed to hostilities with the Cherokees. This state of things it is apprehended, is attributable mainly to the circumstance that you have not resided with those Indians and hence have not obtained over them that influence and control, which it is desirable should be had. The President feels it due to the interest of those people and the government, that

15. 20th Annual Report, A.B.C.F.M., 1829, pp. 79-80.

16. 21st Annual Report, A.B.C.F.M., 1830, pp. 87-91.

17. John H. Eaton to Major Hamtramck, War Department, March 31, 1830; original in National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Indian Letter book No. 6, June 8, 1829—July 30, 1830; Photostat copy in possession of Graves.

some person should be selected to this agency, whose control of the Indians may be such as to preserve them at peace. He will accordingly proceed to the selection of another. He directs that your duties as agent be considered as determined, upon the receipt of this letter.

Very Respectfully, John H. Eaton.

From this it may be seen that Rev. Pixley did not labor entirely in vain. The government came to see the wisdom of his position as to the importance of a resident agent and acted accordingly; and to whatever good that came to the Osages because of this movement, Rev. Pixley is entitled to at least a share of the credit. Nobody knows how far reaching that may have been.

"Mission Neosho, from the viewpoint of the Indian," says Morrison, "was a failure. It did not succeed in converting them to Christianity, nor did it revolutionize their habits of living. The Indians were not exactly indifferent to the agricultural skill of the white men, but they could not be induced to devote themselves to such pursuits. This was especially true of the men. . . . The importance of the mission lay in the fact that it was the first mission in Kansas and pointed the way to the establishment of other missions." (18)

Rev. Isaac McCoy, the noted Baptist missionary, visited the Neosho Mission in 1828. Writing of this later, he said: (19)

"At the time of which I am writing, the Rev. Mr. Pixley, a Presbyterian missionary, with his wife and several children, resided among the Osages. He was a worthy man, and desired much to impart spiritual benefits to that poor people. But he accomplished little, if anything of this nature during his labors there. His impatience amidst what he esteemed wrong in those about him induced him to administer reproof in a manner to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience. He and the United States Indian Agent, Major Hamtramck, at the same place, were widely at variance. Both appealed to the department of Indian Affairs at Washington, with which Mr. Pixley's story evidently had the greater advantage of the other. Nevertheless, the obstacles to Mr. Pixley's usefulness so accumulated that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions desired him to retire. The United States Indian agent continued in office but a short time."

Viewed solely as the situation appeared when Rev. Pixley left Neosho, it would seem that the mission was a flat failure, or even worse than a failure, for there were animosities against Christianity that had not previously existed. It is not recorded that he made even one convert to religion while there, or that his school grew to much importance. But there are other and later view-points. The increased sentiment among the Osages in later years favorable to farming no doubt had its inception at Neosho and Hopefield. Those contented settlers who were farming near Neosho when the agent interfered, had progressed far enough to sense the wisdom of the plan, and they knew where to place the credit for its inception, and the blame for its destruction. Neither the reds nor the whites gave him credit for

18. T. F. Morrison, Chanute, Kas., in Kansas Historical Quarterly, August 1935, p. 234.

19. Baptist Indian Missions, by Isaac McCoy, 1840, p. 360.

the improved agency conditions resulting from his agitations, but a whole tribe, even his traducers, profited by the change.

Rev. Pixley may have acted unwisely, injudiciously, but grounds for questioning his sincerity and good intentions are hard to find. Unquestionably his acts incited the controversy, but they were sincere efforts to combat evils and right wrongs. His good intentions went awry because his methods were provocative rather than conciliatory. Rev. McCoy stated the case well when he said, "His impatience amidst what he esteemed wrong in those about him induced him to administer reproof in a manner to subject him to unnecessary inconveniences."

Asks Permission to Return.

After the agency changes were made among the Osages, Rev. Pixley, in a letter addressed to Gen. Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, asked to be reinstated at Neosho. The letter was dated "Lexington, Mo., December 27, 1830," and said: (20)

"Sir: Yours of August 29th was duly received and after much delay permit me to reply to your observation about my 'having opportunity to lay before the agent, proofs of such charges as I think necessary, against the former agent.'

"That I have no wish to become an accuser or a prosecutor of any one. That having once, as I thought a good citizen ought, communicated facts to the proper authorities in order that they might know the Truth, and that I might acquit myself as neither winking at nor being accessory to what I thought wrong and criminal; I feel that my whole duty is discharged. When that communication was made I considered I had committed the matter to the hands of the proper magistrate who probably knows his duty in such cases and cannot need my instructions or coercion, to enable him to perform it. And if that magistrate wants evidence as to the facts communicated, he knows full well how to bring them forward in a lawful and proper manner without interference. But after having been nearly two years removed from my place, it shall appear that what I communicated were facts and grievances which are now about to be redressed, may I not also hope that the same authorities, through whose influence I was removed, will think upon me, and do me the justice of restoring me to my place as being an honest man, and a missionary undeserving so much obloquy and abuse.

"I applied to Mr. C., the agent for liberty to return. He promised to write to St. Louis, but I have received no answer. Is it an oversight or a designed neglect. Signed, B. Pixley.

Rev. Pixley never again visited the Osages on the Neosho. In 1831 he transferred his allegiance from the Foreign Mission Board to the American Home Mission Society and moved to Independence, Missouri, where he spent his remaining days in a ministerial capacity.

20. Original letter on file in archives of Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, in Clark papers.

PART V.

Hopefield was an off-shoot or outgrowth of the Union Mission station; or perhaps it might have been more properly called a branch of Union, since it was established by members of the Union family acting under the belief that the adult Osages could be better reached and influenced by methods different from those employed at Union. The two institutions worked together in perfect harmony, with free exchange of labors, courtesies, and religious efforts.

The missionaries had concluded from close observation, that the nomadic life of the Osages was not conducive to either their temporal or spiritual welfare, and that an effort should be made to change it. The hunts of the Indians were not often sufficiently successful to provide ample provisions from one season to another, and game was getting scarcer and farther away each year. The far-seeing missionaries could easily conclude that famine was in the offing unless some other method was found for providing subsistence. The hunts and wandering habits were also keeping the Indians away from the vicinity of the missionary station and school, and away from missionary influences during much of the year, which made it difficult to accomplish any permanent good among them. A missionary farm appeared to be the solution of both problems, and as a result, Hopefield was established. The idea was to select a good farming locality, and then get the well-disposed Indians and their families to settle around it and take up the practice of farming, under the guidance of Mr. Requa and his assistants, and thereby become self-supporting.

The establishment of Hopefield was not a spontaneous affair, a considerable time elapsing between its conception and its realization. To the credit of the Indians, it must be stated that they started a movement that led to its establishment. In January, 1823, Moi-neh-per-she, (1) a young chief who had shown considerable interest in the mission, renewed his talks with the missionaries about changing his habits of life. This was encouraging, but his sincerity had to be tested. It was too serious a matter for hasty action. He asked for and was given work on the mission farm from time to time, and did so well that, on July 16, 1823, the missionaries

"Clothed Moi-neh-per-she and his wife and child, and received them at our table, after a trial of his sincerity in wishing to adopt the habits of civilization. He requested Sister Johnson to teach his wife; and he intends himself to labor for her board and clothing until we can assist him in forming a settlement." (2)

1. Union Mission Journal, January 1823.
2. Ibid, July 16, 1823.

The young chief, with a few other Indians and some Frenchmen who had Osage wives, appeared before the meeting of the mission council and asked the assistance of the missionaries to aid them in adopting the ways of the white people, in building houses and cultivating lands. The pleased council appointed Rev. Chapman and Wm. C. Requa to live among them and "aid them in their business by kind influences and Christian example," recognizing a settlement of these people as affording a splendid opportunity for communicating religious instruction. The council also agreed to lend the new settlement ploughs and other utensils they might need. (3)

Rev. Chapman and Mr. Requa selected a spot for the settlement, about four miles north of Union, on the opposite side of the river, on December 1, 1823, and during the next few weeks spent much of their time there assisting the Indians in preparing the place for occupancy. They called it Hopefield.

The history of the events that led up to the establishment of Hopefield, and of its beginnings, is well told in these extracts from letters written by Rev. Chapman, who participated in the making. In March 1824, he wrote: (4)

"After having previously, in several instances, conversed favourably on this subject, several Indians came forward, early in the autumn of 1822, and proposed to build their cabins at Union, and plant in the neighborhood; but from the extent of this establishment, and the peculiar circumstances of the Indians, this scheme could not be encouraged. Although they made this proposition at that time, yet as they had been unaccustomed to labour, and as it was regarded as disgraceful for warriors, it was thought expedient to try their constancy by inviting them to labour with us previously for wages. By this means we became convinced that it would be necessary to lead them on, in the accomplishment of their important undertaking. The labouring of the Indians in the months of April, May and June following for wages, was mentioned in the Journal. . . . The ill health of Mr. Donny, our interpreter, who has an Osage family and is regarded as an Osage, delayed the commencement of the settlement until the first of December. Br. Wm. C. Requa and myself then began our operations, in conformity to the resolutions of the family in the September previous."

Continuing his letter of March 26, 1824, Rev. Chapman said

"On the 15th Waushingah-legena, (beautiful bird) with his brothers-in-law, Sesah-monia and Apesincheb, with their families came to join the settlement. In taking this step, they, as well as Pau-hunk-sha, have been subject to the reproaches of their degenerate countrymen; but they appear firm. . . . Of the 24 acres which we design to cultivate this season, we have appointed six to ourselves and the remaining 18 was divided between five Indian families, including the interpreter. The houses are situated in front of each man's field, on the bank of the river."

In a later letter, Mr. Chapman wrote: (5)

3. Ibid, Sept. 22, 1823.

4. American Missionary Register, July 1824, pp. 206-7; Chapman to Domestic Secretary, March 29th, 1824.

5. Ibid, Jan. 1825, pp. 23-24; Chapman to Domestic Secretary, July 2, 1824.

"It will be recollect that the Journal for a year and a half, had frequently mentioned Moi-ne-pu-sha, a young chief, as designing to take the lead in a settlement of this description. He had been deterred from coming forward, by the influence of ill advisers, in addition to his natural indolence, and had been almost induced to give up all thoughts of adopting our habits for fear of reproach of his countrymen; but at length, on the 12th of April, he joined the settlement. Others followed at different times, so that previous to the 10th of June, when they all left for a short hunt, the number of Osage families had increased to eleven."

These first settlers appeared to catch the spirit of the missionaries and to appreciate their efforts to get them established on a substantial basis. Laborers from Union helped to erect their first buildings and to plow their first ground. Dr. Palmer rode up there often to attend the sick, and the missionaries also went to take part in the religious exercises, receiving a much more hearty response there than elsewhere. (6)

The eleven families who settled around the station, the men folks of which had never worked before, cleared and planted more than thirty acres of ground which they tilled well enough to produce a good crop. This entry in the Mission Journal shows the result: (7)

"We now have the pleasure of recording the first instance to our knowledge of an Osage going to market and selling his produce for cash. Br. Woodruff has just returned from Ft. Gibson whither he went to assist Pau-hunk-sha, the first settler at Hopefield, in selling his canoe load of watermelons and green corn. Others are expecting to go to market as soon as he returns and gives an account of his success. Among other purchasers at the Garrison were several Cherokee chiefs who came thither according to previous arrangement to meet the Osages and exchange stolen horses. Black Foy, a leading chief of the Cherokee nation, recognized Pau-hunk-sha to come down and see him at the same time exhorted him in changing his habits and acquiring property."

Hopefield, however, had its difficulties; plenty of them. The new farmers who had hitherto been subsisting by the hunt, were poverty stricken when they began, had insufficient tools and implements, and lacked experience. They also encountered strong tribal discouragements as well as drouths and floods. Mr. Requa wrote this about their situation: (8)

"Some of the families have subsisted on acorns a part of the time. Their extreme poverty prevents their making those preparations which are necessary to farming more extensively. They have horses, and wish to accustom them to work, but they have no harness, no ploughs, no wagons, no carts. They want to cut timber for cabins, rails, etc., but they have no axes, except a few which they have borrowed from Union. They would have split many more rails this season, if they could have had more iron wedges. They would dress or cultivate their corn to much better advantage if they could have a sufficient number of hoes. Some of the women have planted cotton, and now inquire 'When shall we be able to make cloth? Who will

6. U. M. Journal, May 8, 1824.

7. Ibid, August 5, 1824.

8. A. M. Register, August 1825, p. 244; Requa to Domestic Sec., May 17, 1825.

give us wheels, and furnish us with the things necessary to make cloth? They say if you write to your good friends at the East, will they not help us?

"These people have encountered many difficulties. They have engaged in agricultural pursuits in the face of much derision from their nation. It is now thought that they must be removed to the Osage reservation, in consequence of the late treaty, in which the Osages have sold this part of the country to the government of the United States, which proves a check to their enterprise. The agent, Gov. McNair, is much interested in their improvement, and gave it as his opinion that a particular statement ought to be made to the Indian department by the superintendent of the Union Mission; and engaged that he would use his endeavors to prevent their falling into a state of discouragement."

Progress At Hopefield.

The progress of the settlement was well depicted in the annual report of the American Board, issued October 1828, as follows: (9)

"Since the last report, Mr. Montgomery formed a matrimonial connexion with Miss Wooley, of the Harmony station.

"As Hopefield was designed principally for a farming establishment, to instruct the Osages in agriculture, there has been no school. The children are sent to Union. The Sabbath has been observed here, from the origin of the settlement. There are now sixteen families, containing 115 individuals, at this station. From 12 to 20 adults assemble for religious instruction; and Mr. Montgomery converses with them, so far as his limited acquaintance with their language will permit. Mr. Requa is able, also to converse with the people in their own tongue. There is an increasing attention; though no considerable interest in religious things has yet been manifested.

"This first experiment to induce the Osages to labor regularly, as the means of obtaining a comfortable subsistence, has, considering their immemorial habits and usages, been remarkably successful. They have about 50 acres of land under cultivation, which has been cleared and fenced by themselves. In 1824, they began to use the ax and the plough. The next year they made evident advances. In 1826, their crop of corn was very fine; and it was supposed that the eleven families of which the settlement then consisted, raised from 40 to 200 bushels of corn to each family; that is, no family raised less than 40 bushels, while one family or more raised 200 bushels each. This unexampled provision for their wants was wholly swept away by a great inundation, and the poor people were left utterly destitute. Not discouraged, however, they commenced agricultural labors again the next spring, and raised 40 to 100 bushels of corn to a family. From the appearance of the crop in July last, it was hoped that 100 bushels of corn to each family, on an average would be produced.

"The males consider it much less disgrace to labor, than they formerly did. One man has built himself a comfortable log house; the first, probably, ever built by an Osage without assistance. Some of these settlers have entirely refused to go upon the hunting and war expeditions; and others manifest much less interest in such things, than they have heretofore done. Several of the families inclose small gardens, and seem quite desirous to possess cows, hogs, and fowls. Some have become very industrious in the prosecution of their labor generally. They need more agricultural implements than they are able to obtain; and the benevolence of government, or of individuals, might be very usefully employed in aiding them in this respect.

"Others of the tribe have wished to join this settlement; but have been dissuaded, as Mr. Requa could not afford suitable care and aid to a larger number.

"In the course of last summer, the most industrious man of the settlement was barbarously murdered while he was at work alone on the east side of the river, by five vagrants, partly whites and partly Indians of other tribes, who lay in ambush. All fired upon him at once. The settlers, hearing the report of the guns, seized their own arms, swam the river with their rifles in their hands, pursued the murderers, and after a sharp battle of half an hour, killed them all without any loss on the side of the pursuers. This was an exhibition of unparalleled bravery on the part of the Osages, who, though always at war, are among the greatest cowards in the world. It would seem that a life of industry, or sorrow for the death of their beloved associate, or a strong desire of revenge, had inspired them with unwonted courage.

"The members of this settlement, expecting for reasons already mentioned, to move soon, are desirous of forming a similar settlement, and of being accompanied by the missionary farmer. This will probably be the case."

Reverend Montgomery spent the winter of 1828-29 in the New England states soliciting support for the Osage missionary field, and in visiting his old home in Pennsylvania. During the same time, Mr. Requa moved his family to Union for the winter period. It was during the absence of the latter that the settlers at Hopefield began to fully realize the help he had been to them, and that his guidance was essential to their success. It was a situation counterpart to that of the white man who "failed to realize the value of good water until the well went dry." They had also become strongly attached to Mr. Requa and the new mode of life into which he had directed them. Acknowledging that the comforts of their new position were far superior to those of their former migratory and war-like occupations, they strongly solicited the return of their benefactor, and not in vain.

Fate seemed, in a way, to deal a bit roughly with the well-meaning settlers at Hopefield, for an outside event was soon to interfere with their plans. The Cherokee treaty of 1828 moved their boundary lines farther west, leaving Hopefield, as well as the Union station, inside the Cherokee domain. An application was made to the Cherokees for permission to remain at that location at least some time longer, but that permission was not forthcoming, and this made it apparent that they must give up their now established homes and move to a new location before the next crop season. Mr. Requa returned to Hopefield in time to help his friends make this removal, but Mr. Montgomery, after his return from the East, was transferred to Union where he remained until his death. Rev. Montgomery had been stationed at Hopefield since the death of Rev. Chapman on January 7, 1825.

A Destructive Flood.

The floods of 1826 brought serious trouble to both Union and Hope-

field, and while they served to dampen the ardor of the Indians who were making their first efforts at tilling the soil and raising domestic animals, they did not entirely discourage them from renewing their efforts. Rev. Vaill wrote this account of the floods: (10)

"The whole summer might have been called a rainy season. The season before was remarkably dry; the streams were never known to be so low as during the winter. About the first of March our river rose and overflowed its banks beyond anything seen before. It swept away our large cornfield, which was near it. This field was renewed and thirty-five acres of corn planted, and never had the mission a better prospect for a crop. Hopefield was also overflowed for the first time to our knowledge. This was also planted and promised well. But through the summer the rains continued. . . . The most appalling scene, however, was reserved for the month of September. It was in this month, about the middle, that the earth could no longer drink in the rains that came oft upon it. Fresh torrents from the clouds descended, the Neosho commenced its second great rise, and it was great indeed. Mr. Fuller, our farmer, was residing on the bank of the river, near the farm. In the spring the water had risen four feet in his dwelling. They now, as then, placed their furniture in the chamber, and fled to the mission house. They returned, and lo! the water had swept away their house, with their little all, and it was seen no more. The field of corn, the labor of a summer, all went before the flood. And, also, Hopefield; for there the product of the soil and sweat of the poor Indians—their summer's work and winter's dependence, already gathered into the granaries, was swept away; their log buildings which they had rolled together, their fields and fences, all were swept away in one night, and they escaped houseless to the hills. Our brother, Requa, also superintends the settlement, and his family residing there. Supposing the flood could not exceed that in the spring (a foot note says the water rose ten feet higher than in the spring), they remained until they had to escape for their lives. So rapid was the rise that they too lost all their furniture, except a little they could take off in a small canoe. . . . The Osage settlers lost their all; at least all they had gained as the fruits of civilization. It was all swept away with the besom of destruction; yet when I returned to the station, I found that they had not become discouraged."

Hopefield Moves to New Location.

The failure of the Cherokees to allow the settlers at Hopefield to remain there long after the treaty of 1828, placed that locality within the Cherokee nation, caused Mr. Requa to select a new location for his settlement. The settlers, being unwilling to go so far north as their own Osage territory, he chose an ideal spot on the unappropriated land of the United States, lying between the Osage reservation and the land belonging to the Creeks at that time. Early in the spring of 1830, Mr. Requa and fifteen Indian families moved about twenty miles north of their new home. In a letter, dated May 24, 1830, Mr. Requa wrote: (11)

"The location of this station is on the same side of Grand river with Union, about twenty-five miles north of it. The land is good, and for an Indian settlement, perhaps a better place could not have been selected in this part of the country. Fifteen Indian families followed us up here, and others are expected here in the fall,

9. A.B.C.F.M. Annual Report, 1828, pp. 90-93.

10. K.S.H.S. Collections, V, 8, p. 480.

11. Missionary Herald, September 1830, V. 26, p. 287.

to be permanent residents. The Indians have been very industrious since their arrival at this place; several of them have cleared, cultivated, and made rails sufficient to enclose four acres of land each, by joining their fields. All this labor has been well done with very little assistance from me. The expectation that their residence here has given a spur to their industry, and rendered their labors pleasant to them. In fact, I have never known them so industrious, so cheerful in their labors, and to behave so well in every respect, as since their removal. The chiefs and some of the principal men have taken no little pains to instruct the people of all classes in their duty. The chief has told them repeatedly that as they have left their old place, they must, or he wanted them very much to leave also behind all their bad conduct, as they have come to a new place and good land, they must adopt the new instructions and listen to the good advice of the good white people among them. He has also exhorted them more particularly to renounce their quarrelling, backbiting, stealing, etc., entirely. This together with the instructions they have received more directly from the word of God has certainly produced very beneficial results, a very considerable reformation has been effected. They appear disposed to live in peace with each other. They attend more generally to the religious meetings held among them, and even take a part in the exercises. The chief, in several instances, after I have addressed them from the word of God, has exhorted them earnestly to profit from what they had heard, to respect the word of God, to reverence the Sabbath, and not to forsake the assembling of themselves to receive instruction from their teacher.

"Their reformation in respect to stealing is worthy to be noticed. It is notorious that the Osages are remarkable for stealing. But this people, since their residence here, though they have had many opportunities, have not taken clandestinely, to my knowledge, the least article. The chief not long since, when on a visit at Union Mission, in a conversation with Mr. Vaill, told him that he had left sticking in a log at some distance from the house, a very valuable axe; and he expected to find it there when he returned; but remarked at the same time, that if he had done so a year ago, he would never again have seen his axe. They begin to see that honesty is the best policy, and a thief is detested among them."

Separated From Union.

Rev. W. F. Vaill, in his report to J. H. Eaton, secretary of war, dated Union, West of Arkansas territory, near Cantonment Gibson, September 30, 1830, said "Hopefield that has been a branch of this mission, was separated from us last year, and removed higher up the Neosho, about 25 miles."

This statement implies that Hopefield had become independent of Union but no other evidence has been found to verify the implication. It may have referred only to the increased distance.

Continued Progress.

The number of families assembled at Hopefield was very small when compared with the Osage tribe, but this few stood out like a shining light in the darkness that hovered over the many. It might be truthfully said, that, in the amount of actual good Hopefield did for the natives, it far surpassed its contemporaries. Having received additional assistance from the U. S. agent and from other sources, the settlers were encouraged to greater endeavors. Their steady improve-

ment each year was perceptible, as they enlarged their fields, became more skillful and industrious in their labors, and veered farther away from their former manner of living. On June 23, 1831, Mr. Requa wrote this from Hopefield: (12)

"The number of Osage families at Hopefield is about fifteen. Neither these, nor any others of the nation, five years ago, possessed any domestic animals except dogs and horses; and they never made any use of the latter in agricultural labors. No Osages, except those at Hopefield, now possess cattle, swine or fowls, or use horses or oxen tilling their lands. It is to supply the deficiency thus occasioned, that they undertake distant expeditions to hunt buffalo, and obtain other means of sustaining life.

"Since the reestablishment of the Hopefield Indians at this place they have made gradual advances in civilization. The love of settled life is increasing among them: and nothing induces them to go a distance from home on hunting tours but necessity. This necessity to follow the deer and buffalo to obtain meat, will, we think, soon be done away. We can number now more than fifty head of cattle belonging to the settlement exclusively of our own, a greater number of hogs, and a still greater number of fowls. This little band of Osages have had many things to discourage them, and not the least is a persecuting spirit among their brethren at the larger town. A long season of sickness, and many instances of mortality since their residence here have been dispiriting, and have prevented that progress which otherwise would have been made. They have, however, on the other hand, been encouraged by the notice that they have received from their agent, who speaks well of their enterprise, and who this past spring furnished them with \$70 to pay for blacksmith work done by Mr. Woodruff at Union Mission.

"Mr. George Requa and his family removing here to join us in our labors has also been a source of encouragement to the Indians, and a great help and comfort to us. Being thus incited, the Indians have persevered in their labors. They have cleared, enclosed, and cultivated, since their residence here, sixty acres of land. A part of this has been ploughed by the Indians with horses, and about thirty acres have been ploughed by our teams; but the labor of ploughing has been done mostly by the Indians. Several of them have become dexterous in driving oxen, an acquirement which they highly prize.

"The gospel is not without its benign influence among this people, though we cannot say we think any are savingly benefitted by it. Nevertheless they are restrained from many practices vicious and sinful in their nature, to which heretofore they have been addicted without remorse of conscience. They have, generally speaking, given up their war expeditions, and say they will war no more, but to defend themselves. We have told them, and we reiterate in their assemblies, that the spirit of the gospel breathes peace and good will towards all nation, that their wars with the Pawnees and other tribes are directly opposed to the word of God.

"Last Sabbath, after meeting with the Indians had closed, the chief told us they were about to start on a short hunting excursion, that they would necessarily be absent a few weeks, and consequently could not assemble to listen to the word of God on the Sabbath; yet they would not forget God's holy day, but rest according to his commandment, and that they would by no means hunt on that day. He then addressed the people before they dispersed, and told them the favors they had received the past year were more encouraging than any they had received before; he mentioned what the missionaries had done for them, and what the agents of the government had given them, and said he supposed that they were thus noticed and assisted because they were acting in compliance with the wishes of their teachers and their agents. He supposed that the Great Spirit inclined the hearts of their

friends to help them, in consequence of their attending to the directions given in the word of God, and because they remembered God's holy day, and assembled to listen to his word. This he said was the cause that their little settlement was becoming respectable where ever it is known. "Moreover," he said, "why are the borders of our prairie made beautiful with herds of cattle peacefully grazing ,and our cabins becoming surrounded with swine and fowls for our use? It must be because we have listened to the instructions and followed the advice of our missionary teachers." He finished by saying, "Let us not forget to assemble every Sabbath to receive instruction from the word of God." Such an acknowledgement from an Osage is a new thing."

Mr. Requa wrote another letter on July 3, 1832, in which he said: (13)

"A gradual advancement in agricultural pursuits, in civil and religious knowledge, and also in moral conduct is apparent. There are twenty-two families resident here, that have under a pretty good state of preservation about seventy acres of land, planted generally with corn that bids fare to produce fifty bushels per acre. Besides corn, they have a variety of garden vegetables growing that look well, such as different kinds of beans, melons, pumpkins, potatoes, etc. We have supplied every family with seed potatoes, and all have planted more or less; and all are remarkably fond of them. The potato will soon become an article of produce among the Osages generally. Here it is considered reputable for a man to labor and be industrious in cultivating their fields, and making improvements; and even at the large town on the Verdigris, a few families have separated themselves from the mass of the people to cultivate the land, in imitation of the people of this place. The example of farming set here by this little band has great influence upon the minds of the Osages generally. They now say at the Osage town on the Verdigris, "We desire to become farmers, and have those among us who will teach us, and assist us in giving us plough and oxen, that we may raise corn and tame cattle." The Hopefield Indians have done their own ploughing this season without any assistance from us, except the use of a yoke of oxen. They are becoming skilled in driving oxen and managing the plough. Several of the settlers will probably raise 200 bushels of corn each more than they will need for their own consumption. They are more and more pleased with the idea of raising their domestic animals, and on realizing the benefit of having meat to eat without procuring it by the chase. The love of settled life increases as they acquire property. Some of the principal settlers have given up their hunting excursions, saying, that they would rather remain at home, that they may make their fields look thriving and in good order. I have just received a visit from an Osage chief of Clarmore's band, who says he has brought some of his people to visit the settlement that they may profit by the example set them; "for," continued he, "the time is near when the other Osage towns will do as the people of this place for their subsistence and not depend on their long and tedious hunting tours."

"In respect to their moral condition (though many evils abound) there is improvement. In their general deportment we discover less of the savage, and more of the enlightened and moral man. We trust the Lord has begun a work of reformation and grace, which he will perfect in the day of his power. In our social and religious meetings several pay good attention, come regularly, and appear to feel the importance of the subject of religion. We would take courage and faint not, trusting in God and the good word of his grace; hoping that his word will accomplish that whereto he doth send it."

The death of Mrs. Wm. C. Requa was one of the serious events at Hopefield during the year of 1833. (14) She was originally Susan Comstock, of Wilton, Connecticut; and later a member of the mis-

13. Ibid, Nov. 1832, V. 28, p. 360.

14. Ibid Nov. 1833, V. 29, p. 409.

sionary family that came to Harmony in 1821. She served as a teacher in the Harmony school until her marriage to Mr. Requa on October 20, 1822, when she moved to Union. She was with her husband when he founded the Hopefield mission in January 1824, and, although official reports did not give notice of her work, she was entitled to no small part of the credit for the progress that station made during the nine years she labored among the Osage women there. She died on the 5th of June, 1833, after a severe illness of six months. The Osage there mourned the death of this benefactress and friend even as if she were one of their own.

During the summer of 1834 the heat was so intensive that it caused the appearance of Cholera among the Osages, and the Missionary Herald (Jan. 1836, p. 24) stated that between 300 and 400 of the Osages died of the disease, including about one-fourth of those at Hopefield. Rev. Montgomery, who had been one of the effective workers at Hopefield, also was a victim of the disease, dying August 17. These had a staggering effect on the settlement, from which it never fully recovered.

Wm. C. Requa was absent from Hopefield during the summer of 1834, having gone to Boston to partly superintend the publication of an elementary book in the Osage language prepared by Rev. Montgomery and himself. The settlement was so dependent on his leadership, that his absence soon had a marked effect.

Hopefield Declines.

The first documentary evidence found of the decadence of Hopefield appeared in the report of the American Board for 1835 which said: (16)

"The gospel has been preached to the adult Osage less during the last year than during some years preceding, owing to various causes; among which are the diminished number of preachers, the dispersion of the settlers at Hopefield; the prevalence of cholera among the Osages, causing them to forsake their towns; and the unsettled condition of their national affairs, and the consequent excitement which prevailed, together with the increased quantity of intoxicating liquors among them."

The same report continues:

"The station at Hopefield has been without a mission family during most of the year. After the decease of Mr. Montgomery, and the prevalence of the cholera there, most of the Osages left the place. The Cherokees were pressing into the neighborhood and claiming the Osage improvements. Mr. Requa has since returned to the place. Mr. Dodge has been authorized to establish a similar establishment at Boudinot."

It would seem that the real cause of the ultimate failure of Hopefield Station No. 2, was the fact that it was located on neutral ground rather than inside the Osage reservation. The intentions in selecting this location away from the direct tribal influence, were laudable,

for many of the Osages ridiculed the idea of Osage men engaging in manual labor, and thereby would influence the progress of those engaged in agriculture. However, the governmental removal of other Indian tribes from the east was still in progress, and it might have been foreseen the neutral ground would not long remain neutral. The domain of the Cherokees was extended by the treaties of 1833 and 1835 (17) to include this neutral land, and they were not only claiming the land on which Hopefield was located, but also the improvements. After the cholera had subsided, the poor farmers who had deserted Hopefield in an effort to evade the scourge, were in poverty, and in confusion of mind as to what to do. They would have to start all over again in another new location.

Appraisement of Hopefield.

The best description of Hopefield No. 2 is contained in this report of a committee appointed to appraise certain Osage property: (18)

"Although the undersigned have had no special orders or instructions to value the improvements made by a band of Osages under the superintendence of Mr. Wm. Requa; and although the government had ordered that the improvements formerly made by the same band at a place called Hopefield be valued by the Osage agent and a person appointed by the said band with a view to pay for the said improvements; and although such a valuation was made and returned to the War Department, yet the said band has never received any payment for the same. Now, in as much as the same unfortunate band of Osages have settled and made some improvements at the _____ of a creek called Cabin de Planch on the Cherokee lands, and have again to break up and remove to the Osage reservation; and because we are led to believe that those Indians did settle on the Cherokee land by a recommendation of Gen. Arbuckle through a misapprehension of the true Osage boundary; Now under these circumstances, the undersigned have decided it to be their duty to view and value the improvements made by the said band on the Cabin de Planch. They are as follows:

"No. 1. The improvements made by Wm. Requa consist of a hewed log house 32 by 18 feet, 1 1-2 story high, 2 chimneys, two fire places, with a bed room with a chimney, 1 fire place, 5 glass windows, a log kitchen with 1 chimney, 1 fire place, val. \$250.

"No. 2. Also a hen house, smoke house, and 2 corn cribs, all of logs, about 15 acres of cultivated land enclosed with rail fence, about 60 bearing peach trees, val. \$265.

"3. Improvements made by the Indians consist of 6 log cabins, about 16 feet square each, with a fire place to each, 6 log corn cribs, val. \$300.

"4. 13 wigwams or lodges in Indian mode made of split puncheons set in the ground, val. \$260.

"5 About 80 acres of cultivated land enclosed with rail fence, val. \$560. Amount, \$1635.

17. Kappler, Laws and Treaties, Indian Affairs, V. 2, pp. 385, 439.

18. Original copy in National Archives, Washington, D. C., Reccrds of the Interior Department, Indian Affairs, Incoming Reports, 1837.

"The undersigned earnestly recommend that provision may be made for the payment of the value of these improvements. And as these Indians were settled on Cherokee lands by the mistake of an officer high in commission under government, we recommend that on removal to their own lands in the Osage reservation, that they be furnished with a year's provisions for themselves and their women and children.

M. Stokes,

Abraham Redfield,

A. P. Chouteau.

April 12, 1837.

Hopefield No. Three.

Wm. C. Requa, after the dispersion of the settlers at Hopefield No. 2, in 1835, moved up to the Boudinot Mission to take the place of Rev. Dodge who had returned to Missouri. Here he remained about a year before he too gave up that station, and went to Missouri to visit some of his old missionary associates who had settled near the scene of their former labors, and to seek a possible location for himself and family. He had not yet officially severed his relation with the Osage missions, but was on the point of doing so. He had spent sixteen years in the service and had met with a success far below his expectations. Naturally he felt discouraged. However he just could not convince himself that his ideas and methods of teaching the Osages useful occupations could not be made a success. Being a man of courage and tenacity, he detested failure, and could not enjoy any reconciliation of mind without another effort. He made that last effort, but encountered such hostility from unfriendly factions of the Osages that he had to abandon it, even before it had a good start.

Practically all of the documentary information now obtainable about Hopefield No. 3, is contained in this report of the American Board for 1837: (19)

"Early during the past year measures were adopted for reestablishing this mission; and various circumstances encouraged the hope that something might be done to benefit the miserable Osages. It seemed probable that they would be permitted to remain in possession of the tract of country assigned them by the treaty of 1825; and not a few of them manifest a disposition to abandon the chase and cultivate the soil. Among these were those formerly connected with the agricultural establishment at Hopefield, together with a number of half-breeds and others who were educated at the mission schools at Harmony and Union. Funds were also expected from the sale of the mission buildings and improvements at the two stations just named, and of three sections of land connected with them; which, if wisely expended would be adequate for establishing and carrying forward for some years a mission of considerable extent. The government of the United States, in fulfilment of the treaty of 1825, recently furnished those Osages who were desirous of cultivating the soil, with a quantity of agricultural implements, some aid in procuring live stock, etc., which were likely to facilitate their improvement.

"Under these circumstances, Mr. Requa, the only remaining individual of the Osage Mission, and who had himself nearly determined to abandon his work there

19. A. B. C. F. M. Annual Report for 1837.

in discouragement, visited their towns last autumn. It seemed to him that the providence of God was clearly calling to a reestablishment of the Mission; and accordingly, after correspondence with the committee, he examined their reservation, and selected a favorable spot for a large agricultural colony near its southeast corner, on the La Bette, or Coal Creek, a western branch of the Neosho River, within nine miles of their junction. He had made considerable progress in preparing the requisite buildings and other improvements, and he hoped soon to have a colony of fifty families around him. A preacher and a school teacher were expected to join him as soon as circumstances would permit. But during the past summer the hostility of the other portion of the tribe to the new establishment, and apparently to all measures for introducing Christian knowledge and the arts of civilized life among them, became manifest. The cattle belonging to the station were killed and the act justified by the chiefs, (20) other property seized, and some of the settlers were threatened and actually assaulted and beaten by their savage countrymen. So great was the annoyance suffered, and so little prospect of usefulness or even of safety to the settlers and the mission property did there seem to be, that in the month of July, Mr. Requa removed his effects and left the reservation. No mission is maintained among the Osages."

Mr. Requa really deserved more success than he achieved. He was a tireless worker, had a commendable system and would have succeeded had he been permitted to work out his plans unmolested among those who gathered around him, and who placed confidence in and dependence upon him. He is not to be blamed for lack of success when he had to encounter numerous outside interferences over which he had no control, and which were much too strong for him to overcome or remove. But even though this last venture proved fruitless, even almost disastrous, it must be said that no other worker among the Osages of that period, could show more visible results of good among the Indians than he, and who can say how far reaching may have been the fruits of his labors! Good deeds never go unrewarded.

Hopefield ranked in achievements superior to those of any one, or even all, of the four other Presbyterian stations of that period and section. The number of Osages directly concerned was infinitesimal as compared to the whole tribe, but from that few there radiated a spark that was not lost on the many. Scoffers who came to see, may, in their pride, have gone away scoffers still, but inwardly sensing the wisdom of the movement, and a few here and there even detached themselves from the main body of the tribe and adopted, at least in part, the Hopefield plans and ideas. It had fewer men in charge, had no school, and had a much smaller investment than either Harmony or Union, but its methods seemed to make a stronger appeal to the Osage mind, and thereby obtained better results. They appealed to the creature comforts, as well as to the intellect, so that good they could see and fully realize then and there, resulted from the labors directed by the missionaries, and also served to break down opposition to the school system, many of the pupils at Union being recruited from

20. Sallie Shaffer, in Parsons (Kas.) Sun, July 24, 1937, gives Chief Molneh-per-sha as one of those who justified the killing of the livestock.

there. The greatest stumbling block in the path of progress towards civilization at Hopefield, was the frequent removal and breaking up of their chosen homes. Their roots were torn up, and their homes removed three times in a dozen years. They would cling to civilization and Christianity if given a chance, but the acts of the government nullified much of the work of the missionaries.

PART VI.

Boudinot Mission, founded by Rev. N. B. Dodge on the Neosho river in March 1830, was the successor of the ill-fated Neosho Mission, or more properly speaking, it was that station removed and renamed. Some of the settlers from the Neosho Mission, together with those who were being forced by their agent to remove from Harmony to the new reservation, joined in forming this new settlement under the direction of a missionary of their own choosing, the Rev. Dodge.

Rev. Dodge, in September 1828, wrote this from Harmony: (1)

"The band of Indians who reside near our station have received orders from the agent to return to their country, which they will probably do between this and the coming spring. They have shown very clearly by their labors, what they would do if they had the means to do with, and some judicious person to direct them how to do. . . . They seem to be determined not to go back to the old town, but to settle by themselves, and cultivate the ground. They have requested me to go and settle with them on the Neosho."

Mr. Jones, of Harmony, on December 9, 1828, wrote this: (2)

"The small band of Indians near us are exceedingly urgent in making a request that Mr. Dodge go with them to their reservation. It has already been proved that they are desirous to hear the good word of God, which is able to make them wise unto salvation. I am persuaded that there is not an adult among the small band above mentioned, who would not say to Mr. Dodge, "Come, go with us, for you will do us good."

A few months later the mission family at Harmony asked the American Board for permission to reopen the mission on the Neosho, as shown by this abstract from the Board's report for 1830: (3)

"The departure of Mr. Pixley from this section was noticed in the last report. During the last winter the mission family at Harmony thought it very important, that the station (Neosho) should be reoccupied; and as the hostility of the agent was professedly against Mr. Pixley personally, and not against missionary operations at the place, it was thought advisable by them, that Mr. Dodge, who had resided, with his family during the previous year at Independence, Mo., should remove there. He accordingly did so early in the spring."

It was in answer to these requests that Rev. Dodge went to the Neosho river in March 1830. Information as to what transpired during the first few months he resided there is sparse, but it is known that he did not reopen the Neosho Mission, but instead, he established Boudinot Mission on the east side of the river, on the south side of Four Mile Creek, about a quarter of a mile from their junction, on what is now legally described as the southwest quarter of section 10,

1. Dodge to Domestic Secretary, Harmony Sept. 1828; Missionary Herald, April 1829, p. 124.
2. Jones to Domestic Secretary, Dec. 9, 1828; Missionary Herald, April 1829, p. 125.
3. 21st Annual Report cf A.B.C.F.M., 1830, pp. 87-91.

township 29, range 20, in Neosho county, Kansas. This is about ten miles down the river from the old Neosho Mission and about two and one-half miles west and north of the present St. Paul, Kansas. This writer has been on the spot many times.

Rev. Dodge, as well as his associates, could see that the Osages, because of their distance from Harmony, were gradually withdrawing their children from the school, and that the end of that station as an Indian mission and school was drawing nearer, and that the only way he could follow his chosen calling among the Indians would be to follow them to their new homes. That too appeared to be the only way by which he could preserve the good already done to his red friends, which if not continually nourished, would soon vanish. Like a good soldier, he again went forth to do his best.

The site selected for Boudinot Mission (4) was about two miles east of White Hair's main village, in the edge of a prairie of scenic beauty that would captivate the eye of a landscape artist. It was really a broad green valley, almost perfectly level, skirted on two sides by timber that afforded fuel and building material. Water was abundant. There he erected his log houses and gathered around him his old Osage friends from Harmony and some from Neosho, to again resume their efforts at civilized life. From Boudinot, Rev. Dodge had easy access to the main Osage village, to which he made weekly visits in pursuit of his avocation.

Rev. Dodge and family worked almost alone at Boudinot. Occasionally some of the missionaries from the other stations would join him in a tour of the Indian villages, and occasionally he went to the assistance of the other missionaries on their tours, but in the main he worked alone. In the beginning he had no school for the children, all of his time being devoted to his ministerial duties at the mission and at the villages, and to directing those Osages who had come with him from Harmony and settled near his mission to continue their efforts toward civilized ways. However, after a few months, he brought Miss Choate to the mission to teach his own children, and she took in some Osage children also. She was a good teacher and was making fair progress when, in March 1835, she married an outsider and moved away. No effort was made to revive the school.

On June 20, 1831, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, the noted Baptist missionary, visited Boudinot, and wrote in his journal: (5)

"We stopped a few hours at the house of Mr. Dodge, missionary of the same connexion of those at Harmony. Mr. Dodge resides here with his family, has been here

4. The new mission was no doubt named after Elias Boudinot, an eastern philanthropist who had done much and contributed much towards Indian missionary work.

5. Journal of Isaac McCoy, in archives of K.S.H.S., Topeka.

a little over a year. He has a considerable farm and preaches to the Osages thro. a son of his as an interpreter.

"At the Osage agency, seven miles above this, we had hoped that my family would find quarters for the Summer and Autumn. But at present there is no white person there except one or two French traders or clerks, who are only a degree removed from the rudeness of Osages, either in manners or principles."

All of the dependable information concerning Boudinot Mission is contained in the letters written by Rev. Dodge, hence we quote them at length. Under date of March 12, 1831, he wrote this concerning his first year of labor there and the results there from: (6)

"Since the first of January I have for the most part held worship at White Hair's town on Sabbath mornings, and at the station in the afternoon. I have also endeavored to embrace opportunities to converse with the people respecting the concerns of their souls. Numbers appear to hear with attention, but I know of none who are evidently affected with a sense of the evil of sin, or who manifest a real desire to flee from it. I cannot say this field is ripe for the harvest. It appears more like a wilderness which calls for much labor to clear away the rubbish. Very little has yet been done in breaking up the fallow ground and sowing the seed. However there is some evidence that the little seed which has been scattered here has fastened important ideas on the minds of some individuals. As a specimen of this I will mention one person with whom I conversed in the following manner: "Who made the world, the trees, the cattle?" He replied, "God made all these things." "How many Gods are there?" "Only one." "Where is God?" "He is above." "Is he not here?" "Yes, he is everywhere." "Did you ever see God?" "No. I wish I could." "Where did you hear these things?" "From the missionaries." "Do you attend preaching?" "Yes, I always attend, and I hear what is said." He related several things he had heard, among the rest that it was bad to go to war, and he said he intended to go no more. This man, I did not recognize as a hearer; so there is encouragement to sow the seed. We know not who, nor how many may be benefitted by it."

Disposition to Engage in Agricultural Pursuits.

The small bands of Osages which came out from their villages, abandoning, to a considerable extent, their wandering, predatory mode of life, and settled down at Hopefield and near Harmony, have often been noticed. Mr. Dodge, writing under date of June 1st, 1831, makes the following statement: (6)

"About the middle of April, the chiefs of the little band who formerly resided near Harmony, sent an express to have me visit them. I accordingly called at their town soon after, but they had no means, and they wished me to assist them in getting tools, and show them how to use them. I informed them that I should take pleasure in assisting them all in my power, if they would actually go to work. I enquired who of them would have their names set down as farmers. They said they would consult together, and let me know in two days. Accordingly on the second day they came, and thirty-two had their names set down as farmers. It being so late, nothing of any amount could be done the present season; but they seemed determined to apply themselves the next year. What they will do remains to be seen. They appear friendly and I have repeatedly visited them since, on the Sabbath and on other days. Some of their women and children attend meeting, and in this respect they are

6. *Missionary Herald*, Sept. 1831, pp. 287-9.

in advance of the other towns. My labors during the last quarter have been spent principally at this town and White Hair's.

"There is no special attention to the gospel among these people, though some of them seem to hear seriously. I cannot but hope that they are increasing in Christian knowledge. Still the great mass of the people are wholly absorbed in their heathen rites and ceremonies, their vain amusements, and their expeditions for war or hunting. When their course will be changed or whether it ever will be, the great Head of the Church only knows."

Difficulty of Collecting the Osages.

Extracts from a letter of Mr. Dodge, dated Boudinot, Osage Nation, March 12, 1832: (7)

"The influence of white men doing business among them is no small barrier in the way. Several times during the past year, an audience could not be obtained among the Indians on the Sabbath, in consequence of the agent and trader being there or expected to be there, on business. However, I have made it a regular point to visit the Indians on the morning of each Sabbath, when there were no providential hindrances, and to preach if I could obtain hearers, and if not, to converse with such as I could find. In the afternoon, I make a point of holding an exercise with my family and others, who occasionally attend at the station.

"Something has been said about my specifying where, or in what towns or villages I perform my labors. In answer to this, I can say, I have preached, during the year, on the Sabbath, 80 sermons, 47 at the stations and 33 to the Indians. 15 Sabbaths I could obtain no audience among them, but conversed with individuals, and from lodge to lodge. At White Hair's town, preached fourteen sermons, a little band at the station nine times; Bear's town, five times; at Wa-so-shee, once; Little Osage town, once; Hopefield, once; Creeks, twice. I have also preached occasionally on week days, visited families and conversed with individuals as opportunity presented. 17 sermons have been preached by other missionaries among us during the year. Thus I have endeavored to give you as particular an account of our labors as my limits will permit. And although there is nothing special among this people at present, in their inquiries respecting their eternal interests, yet I cannot but hope that they are increasing in Christian knowledge, and that they will ere long be subjects of converting grace. Although in our assemblies there are many who are careless and inattentive, yet there are always some who hear with apparent interest and with a desire to understand. But while this view of the subject has as yet, predominated, I must tell you I am not without my trials. I sometimes feel great discouragement, while I look around upon this people and behold them sinking into their graves entirely unaffected by the gospel. It brings most solemn reflections to my mind when I think of their eternal destinies. When I speak to them concerning these great things, they generably seem to be as insensible to their true value as the blind man is to the objects of sight. With such views of the subject, I feel sometimes almost to despair, but when I reflect again that with God all things are possible and that it is man's business to speak to the ear, and that it is God alone who can speak to the heart, I again take courage."

Preaching to the Osage Villages.

Rev. Dodge wrote this letter from Boudinot, December 1, 1832: (8)

"On the 5th of September, Mr. Vaill and Mr. Washburn came up to visit the

7. Same, Sept. 1832, pp. 291-2.
8. Same, Feb. 1833, pp. 61-2.

several villages and preach the gospel to the people. This occasion was peculiarly interesting on account of some of the young converts from Harmony station coming over to attend with us. The first Sabbath in September was spent at White Hair's town. We first collected all we could of every description, and preached to them; and afterwards we assembled the women in one place, and the boys in another, at the same time. A girl, one of the young converts from Harmony, interpreted to the females. She also conversed with some of her female friends, and endeavored to direct their minds to the great salvation of the gospel. On Monday and Tuesday following, we held meetings for prayer and preaching at the station, where some of the Indians came and attended with us. On Wednesday we went to Bear's town and spent the day in preaching the gospel to them. There two of the young men who had lately entertained hope ventured to open their mouths for God. One of them had formerly lived in that town in his vileness and folly. With tears in his eyes he confessed the wickedness of his life, and said he hoped he had now found a better way. He invited and entreated them to go with him in the service of God. The other also followed him in recommending them to the same source of hope and consolation. The young woman conversed with her female friends, and altogether made the season very pleasant and interesting. On Thursday we all went to Wah-so-she's town. Our visit here was very much interrupted by a company of traders, who came into the town just as we arrived, and kept the people in constant tumult all the while we were there. We almost despaired of getting any together; but at length a few came in, and we held a short exercise with them. Here again our young friends took an active part in exhorting the people to attend to the concerns of their souls, and one of them closed the meeting by prayer in the Osage language. This is a new era in Osage mission. The people never before, to my knowledge, heard one of their own number pray in their own tongue; and it also new to hear exhortations upon the subject of religion from their own kindred.

"What effect this interesting meeting may have had upon the minds of the people we are not yet able to determine; but with the blessing of God we are sure it will produce fruit unto everlasting life."

Discouraging Aspects.

After noticing the good health enjoyed by the mission family and the general prosperity which had attended the temporal affairs of the station, Mr. Dodge remarks in a letter from Boudinot, dated March 1st, 1834: (9)

"As it respects the effect of the gospel among this people there is nothing more than formerly to cheer the hearts of our patrons or the religious public. If anything I think the prospects have been more gloomy than ever before in some respects. There have been more difficulties in the way of access to them than usual, in consequence to the war spirit which has reigned among them. I have sought opportunities of preaching to them at the station and at their villages, and to do what I could for their improvement; but whether it will effect anything for their everlasting good remains yet in the secret counsels of Jehovah. Regular worship has been kept up at the station on the Sabbath, and when Indians have been present, the discourse has generally been interpreted. The commissioners of government are negotiating a treaty with the Osages; and if it goes into effect, they will be removed from their present reservation some distance to the northwest of this. There is a strong probability that this will take place in the course of the coming year. One of the United States commissioners visited the Pawnee Mahaws, the Otoes, the Omahaws, and several other tribes up the Missonri, last fall, and with their agent brought about fifty Pawnees and Otoes through the country as far as Fort Gibson, on the Arkansas

9. Same, July 1834, p. 258.

river, for the purpose of establishing peace with the various Indian tribes. They spent some time among the Osages, were kindly treated, and articles of peace were signed between them. The Osages made them handsome presents, and they went away highly gratified with their visit. I conversed with the agent of these Indians respecting the prospect there would be of improving the Indians under his charge by means of schools and a mission. He seemed to be desirous of getting the right kind of men among them, and is calculating to send them a number of families of farmers and mechanics. They are very desirous of having school teachers come to teach their children. The agent thinks there would be nothing in the way of missionaries going among them, and it appears very evident to me that the way is now perfectly open for missions to be established among the Omahaws, the Otoes, and the Pawnee Mahaws. The sooner it can be done the better it will be.

"Miss Choate came to this station last fall for the purpose of teaching my own children, and using what influence she could to induce the children of the Osages to receive instruction. In this business she has been unweeded. A number of the Indian children have been in occasionally and some of them have committed the greater part of the alphabet, and have received instruction by pictures and in various other ways; but from the total indifference of the parents and fickleness of the children, they have attended so unsteadily that they have received very little benefit. I believe however, that if suitable accommodations were provided and the children could be taught in their own language, something could be done by schools in the midst of them.

"But in the midst of our discouragements we have reason to bless God that some advances are made in the improvement of the Osages. While a few, as we trust, have been converted to Christ quite a number of the youth are already qualified, or becoming qualified, to occupy useful stations in life, provided they can be directed in a proper course. For this purpose the most effectual means should be to induce the youth, when they leave the school, to settle down to work in their own country, under the direction of the missionaries or some suitable person appointed by the Board for that purpose. If something of this nature cannot be effected, the expense of their education is in danger of being almost, if not entirely, lost. There is now quite a company of young people who have been benefitted more or less by the schools, numbers of whom are regularly married and some of them doing very well. The first marriage among the Indians on the Neosho took place on the 6th of last month. I was requested by the agent to visit the agency on that day to join in marriage Joseph Lasweese and Julia Mongrain, the former a half-breed, educated at Union, and the latter the daughter of the United States' interpreter, but without an education. The marriage was solemnized in the presence of a large collection of Osages. The remarks and ceremony were interpreted into the Osage language, as the bride did not understand English. All appeared highly gratified with the new mode of marriage. The agent provided a dinner for forty or fifty persons, eight or ten of whom were chiefs and head-men of the Osages, and the next day he feasted something like one hundred Osages. I was called upon last October at Harmony station to unite another couple in marriage. The young man was a Delaware, and is at work with the United States blacksmith among the Delawares learning the trade, and the girl was Betsy Rogers, a half-breed Omahaw, who has received a good education at the Harmony school."

No other important changes are reported as to the religious state or prospects at this station until the spring of 1835, when McCleve says "Rev. Dodge remained at Boudinot until it became unsafe to stay any longer (1835), at which time he returned to Little Osage

(Balltown) Missouri." (10) A similar statement as to the cause of his leaving is made by Hill, (11) but neither of them gives any reason why it became unsafe for him to remain. That faction of the Osages that made trouble for Rev. Pixley at Neosho may have been encouraged also by the traders to interfere with Rev. Dodge's activities, none of which were to their liking. In 1834-1835 there was considerable disturbance among the Osage warriors because of attacks waged alternately between them and the Pawnees, and this may have helped to cause the situation to appear unsafe to Rev. Dodge, and his consequent decision to return to Missouri.

About this time affairs were not going well at Hopefield, chiefly because that place was located outside of the Osage reservation and the settlers were being urged to get into their own country. Some of them asked Mr. Requa to go with them farther north, and in response, he moved them to Boudinot, the station just vacated by Rev. Dodge, and joined them with those settlers around that station. Mr. Requa hoped he could succeed there because it was safely within the Osage country, and in a good agricultural locality. The fact that Rev. Dodge had abandoned the station as unsafe, did not discourage him, because he devoted his energies almost entirely to husbandry which was less objectionable to the recalcitrant Indians than the missionary efforts of his predecessors.

However sanguine may have been his prospects, it seems Mr. Requa did not remain long at Boudinot. There appears to be no record of his work there, nor of the number of settlers engaged in agriculture in that vicinity; but the results must have failed to meet Mr. Requa's expectation, for McCleve says the station was permanently suspended in 1836. (12) Mr. Requa joined his former missionary associates for a few months in Missouri, before returning to the Osage reservation for his final effort.

Boudinot has been generally regarded as having been the least important of the five missions, possibly because of the lack of information concerning its activities. Practically nothing is known of this mission other than is given in the letters of Rev. Dodge. From them, however, one may conclude that, from a purely spiritual standpoint, its accomplishments among the adult Osages who had heretofore been so difficult to reach, were, comparatively speaking, quite favorable. Rev. Dodge was able to obtain attentive audiences for preaching services in their own villages, and to secure close attention to his sermons. His successes were not great, but they were successes and not failures.

10. History of Indian Missions of Presbyterian Church in Kansas, by David Harold McCleve (1934), pp. 36-40.
11. Presbytery of Kansas City, by Hill, p. 149; Burd & Fletcher Printing Co., Kansas City.
12. Same as No. 10.

PART VII.

Mission Locations.

The following are the locations of the missions among the Osages established by the United Foreign Missionary Society:

Union was in what is now Mayes County, Oklahoma, four miles east and one mile north of the town of Mazie, the specific location being on section 16, township 19 N., range 19 E., near the west bank of the Neosho or Grand river. (1)

Hopefield No. 1, was about four miles north of Union, on the east side of the Neosho or Grand river. (2)

Hopefield No. 2, was located on what is now section 26, township 23 N., range 20 E., about half a mile southwest of Pensecola, eight miles east and one mile north of Adair, in Mayes County, Oklahoma. (3)

Hopefield No. 3, was in Labette County, Kansas, but the exact spot is indefinite. The report of the American Board for 1837 speaks of Mr. Requa as having "selected a favorable spot for a large agricultural colony near its (Osage reservation) southeast corner, on La Bette or Coal Creek, a western branch of the Neosho River, and within nine miles of their junction." A map in Spooner & Harland's History of American Missions, in the Kansas State Historical Society, shows the location a short distance north of the 37th degree, and on the west side of the Neosho River, which would place it about as above described. (4)

Harmony Mission was in Prairie Township, Bates County, Missouri. Miss Denton, in her Thesis, gives the exact description as "covering the territory of what appears on the plat today as sections 8, 9, and part of 17, in Prairie Township, T. 38, R. 30." It was on the banks of the Marais des Cygne river about five miles above its confluence with the Marmaton river. The united rivers are then called the Osage river.

Neosho Mission was located on the west side of the Neosho River in what is now Neosho County, Kansas, not far from the town of Shaw. The exact spot is not known, but approximately, it was located on section 16, township 28, range 19. A granite marker has been placed near Highway 57 to indicate the locality. (5)

1. Muskogee Phoenix, October 9, 1935.

2. Union Mission Journal, Dec. 1, 1823, p. 207, in Archives of O. H. S.

3. Alberta McCann, secretary of Department of History, University of Oklahoma.

4. Report of A.B.C.F.M. for 1837.

5. Connelly's History of Kansas, V. 1, p. 225.

Boudinot Mission was located in Mission township, Neosho County, Kansas, on the south side of Four Mile Creek, about a quarter of a mile east of its junction with the Neosho River, on the north half of the southwest quarter of section 10, township 29, range 20. There is nothing whatever to mark the location. The site is now farm land. (6)

Dwight Mission mentioned several times, was established among the Arkansas Cherokees by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1821, on the west side of the Illinois Bayou, in what is now Pope County, Arkansas, across the river from Dardanelle. In 1829 it was moved to what is now the west part of Sequoyah County, Oklahoma, in the valley of Sallisaw Creek, about three miles south of Marble City.

Only two of the historic spots on which these pioneer missions were located, have been honored with a granite marker telling posterity where the first efforts at Christian civilization on this virgin soil, and even these are of recent date and with dual purposes. On October 12, 1835, a granite marker was erected on the site of Union Mission in Oklahoma, but it appeared to have been fostered with more desire to commemorate the first printing plant in that state which was housed in the old mission buildings in 1835, after they had been deserted by the missionaries. A year later, the school children of Chanute, Kansas, solicited funds that erected a marker on Highway No. 57, near Shaw, Kansas, directing attention to the site of the Neosho Mission a mile north of the road. In 1940, the Kansas Historical Society placed one of its markers in Shaw calling attention to its nearness to the Neosho Mission and to the old Canville Trading Post where the treaty of 1865 was made. Harmony, Hopefield and Boudinot remained unmarked.

MISSIONARY TOURS.

The missionaries found so much indifference, sometimes bordering on resistance, that it was exceedingly difficult to get them to attend the religious services at the Missions, hence they adopted a policy of taking the gospel to the Osages in their own villages and in their own homes, by making "missionary tours," during which two or more of the ministers would go from village to village at some distance from the stations, and talk to the natives at every opportunity wherever found. These were not without their good effects, but they did not solve the problem of making an unwilling people listen. The best information about these tours can be gained from the reports made by those who participated in them. Reverend Dodge, then located at Boudinot

6. Boudinot Mission was located three miles from the present home of the writer of this book. He has often been on the spot. The foundations of the buildings were visible for several years after the white settlers came.

Mission, made this report on one tour, in a letter dated June 18, 1832: (1)

"I proceed to make some statements respecting the labors and prospects of the past quarter. The two first Sabbaths in March, the water being high, I could not get to the town; the time was occupied at the station with a few Indians residing there. The three following Sabbaths were spent at White Hair's town. I also visited and preached at Wa-so-ches and the Bear's towns, and gave notice to all the people of the contemplated tour about to be performed among the several tribes, and urged them to bear it on their minds and be ready to hear, for much pains would be taken by missionaries abroad, to visit them for the good of their souls.

April 6. A three days' meeting was commenced at Dwight station, among the Cherokees. A considerable revival has been experienced among the people, of some time standing. Quite a number of young converts were present, and something like from 30 to 40 inquiring souls. The exercises were closed on Sabbath evening, the 8th. Monday was spent at the station with our missionary brethren, visiting the school, etc. Tuesday, we rode to the Forks of Illinois to visit Brother Newton's station and people. Wednesday, visited a number of families in the neighborhood of that station, exhorting and praying with them, and found numbers there who appear very tender upon the subject of religion. Thursday, attended an appointment at the garrison, when Brother Washburn preached to a small, but an attentive audience. This is a very wicked, polluted place; but even here the Holy Spirit was evidently operating upon the minds of some. Friday, we commenced a three days' meeting among the Creeks. But few attended the first two days, but the third day, it being the Sabbath, a large congregation assembled, and gave very good attention to the word spoken. The anxious were called for, in the course of the day, and a considerable number came forward; but there does not appear so much special interest on the subject of religion as there was a year ago. None were added to the church at this time.

"Tuesday, commenced a meeting at Clamont's town, preached five times in four different lodges. Once in particular to the females; and in every instance we had quite a number to hear. We continued the meeting part of Wednesday, and came away, thankful that we had been permitted to proclaim the gospel to so large a number of this people. Spent Thursday in public worship at Union station. A few anxious souls there.

"Wednesday, 25. Toward evening, we arrived at the Little Osage town, where we were saluted with a war party, preparing for a war expedition, and with whom we were annoyed all the time we spent at the town, for they were extremely tumultuous and noisy. However, we tarried through the night, and succeeded in getting a considerable number to hear the next day. We collected them together several times in different lodges, during the day, and had one appointment for the females in particular.

"From this, we went to Wa-so-ches town, where we spent Friday and part of Saturday. We kept up exercises almost constantly while there, at different lodges and with different classes of men, women and children. A large number in this town, of all ages and descriptions, had an opportunity of hearing something from the word of God. O that God would bless his word for their good.

"Spent Sabbath, 29, at White Hair's town. We collected what we could twice, and preached two discourses to them each time. After which, we proposed holding exercises for the instruction of the females and the young men and boys in different lodges at the same time, when something like 100 of each sort, were collected, and

1. *Missionary Herald* V. 28, p. 290, September 1832.

paid a very respectful attention to the word spoken. The reason why we called the women and boys separate from the men, is because it is contrary to their custom for them to assemble with the men, but in every instance, where they in particular have been invited, they have manifested as much or more engagedness than the men.

"30. It being difficult to pass the Neosho, on account of high water, the brethren from Union and Dwight started on their way home, and left the visit to Bears town to Brother Jones and myself, which we performed on the 31st. We had two exercises with them, one for all who would attend, and another in particular for the boys. The number was not large who attended, as part of them had started on a hunt, and the women were very busy in their fields planting corn. This closed our missionary tour, and we think the appearances are more favorable than we ever saw them before among this people. Attended a four days' meeting at Harmony station, which commenced the first day of June. Friday and Saturday the meeting was quite interesting, but the Sabbath was a most solemn and affecting season—13 persons came forward and took the vows of God upon them, eleven by profession and two by letter. Five were children of the mission family four were Indian children, two Delawares and two Osages, and two were black persons who are laborers at the mission station. It was very pleasant to behold these young soldiers of the cross come round the table of their divine Lord, to commemorate his dying love for the first time. During the meeting, five professed a hope in Christ, and within a day or two after perhaps as many more, and a number of others are under very serious impressions. I shall not be very particular in stating the hopeful appearances at Harmony, as no doubt Brother Jones will do that in due time. I cannot forbear stating the goodness of God, which has been manifested in my own family, within the year past. My two eldest sons, who visited New England last year, came home, we trust, with new hearts."

The following extracts from Reverend Montgomery's Journal will show the circumstances under which a knowledge of the gospel was communicated to the Osages, and the difficulties that attended it. Mr. Montgomery resided at Union, about twenty miles from the large Osage town to which his visits were made, and which contained 2000 or more people, settled compactly on a few acres of ground: (2)

"March 7, 1832. Visited the Osage town. Most of the men absent on a distant hunt, and, as usual at this season of the year, great complaints are made of scarcity of food. Had two meetings, the largest amounting to about thirty persons, the attention somewhat encouraging. A man who had been present when the duties of neighbors were stated afterwards commended the injunctions respecting bringing back straying animals. Mad Buffalo professes "that he has been all his life seeking after God, wondering who he is, and where he lives"—says he has fasted seven days without water, lying out to dream on the tops of hills and by the roots of trees, but without success—with his utmost exertions his ideas could never reach beyond the visible heavens—he seemed to meet a wall which he could not penetrate, something against which his thoughts struck and then slipped aside. He wishes to have a new bible to keep in his lodge, and to leave with his children at his death. Yet he has no seriousness, no conviction of sin, no desire to be instructed. Oh that the Spirit which enlightened and turned the ancient Corinthians, Ephesians and others, and which is at this day accomplishing such wonders in many heathen countries, would arrest his wayward attention, and impart to him a heart to love the truth.

"May 21. Returned from the town after a stay of three days. Found the men but little disposed to assemble for preaching; but with some difficulty obtained

2. Ibid V. 29, p. 133, April 1833.

several small meetings of women. Had the satisfaction, likewise to get several groups of small boys to sit down to be taught English, scripture names, facts, etc. Hope to try the plan further. A young man to whom I spoke about the resurrection, promptly dissented, saying, "it would be impossible for anyone to open all the graves, they were so numerous—scattered all about, three or four in a place." Another expressed a wish to know the name of the Son of God, that he might put his trust in him.

"June 7. Have made a visit with my family to the different stations in the Cherokee country. Many of the people appear much impressed with religious things; near twenty came forward at Dr. Palmer's to have their names entered to the anxious list. The Cherokee brethren have united in an association to do good to the poor and unenlightened—contributing money for the purchase of scripture, and engaging to accompany their minister in preaching tours to destitute neighborhoods. Several of them promised to make a visit with us to the Osages in September.

June 16. Had been occupied at the town since the 11th inst. Found a long public feast on hand, which came much in the way of my object. Could obtain but two meetings, one of which was of women. Few however were called. Had I a sufficient portion of scripture to read would try visiting from lodge to lodge in preference to the dilatory business of meetings at present."

"An invitation has just come from White Hair's for a united expedition against the Pawnees, in honor of their chief, who has deceased since our tour in April. In reply to my remonstrances, a principal brave, one of whose name is Wakhundah; observed that if they had cattle and farming implements they would stay at home, and there would be no more quarreling about the buffalo. Hearing me tell the women how easily they might make clothing for their families, the chief said: "You must come and have your wife make cloth where our women can see, and they will soon learn—talk is nothing."

"July 17. An Osage woman, on being told that many of the Cherokees had become worshipers of God, and had put away their bad hearts, inquired if they (the Osages) had their bad hearts still; said that since she had encamped near us, she had conformed to our way—not crying. A young man to whom I was speaking about universal depravity helped out the expression "that when a man sinned he lost all good thoughts, or judgment", by saying, "God took away all good judgment from him."

22. Sabbath. Visited a small camp in this neighborhood. During the time I was speaking, a woman continued dressing a skin just beside me, nor did any of the women attend. An old man asked how long it will be till the Son of God return, saying he wished to see him in this world, and not in the next. The idea of happiness after death appears offensive to some, and trifling and visionary to the rest.

"August 18. Returned from a two days visit to the town, accompanied by Charles Mogrin. Much difficulty in getting a meeting called; but the attention better than usual, chiefly to be ascribed to the animation of the interpreter. One of the hearers said the law was altogether against them, condemning everything they do. Hearing a distressing lamentation in a neighboring lodge, on entering was told by the women that they were mourning for a sister who died not long before. After their feelings had been somewhat soothed by my inquiries, they stated that their sister was a young girl, and that her death was occasioned by an injury from a fall in carrying a heavy burden—this happened in April.

"September 10. Returned from a visit to the town. Not having an interpreter, did not call a meeting, nor could it have been easily accomplished. Had the satisfaction, however, to be occupied pretty fully in reading to and conversing with individuals and families. On Sabbath evening after a rather discouraging day, an old man followed me to the outside of town, who exhibited much appearance of love

to the truth as when contrasted with the indifference of the rest, to fill me with hope and exultation. He professed to have heard a voice in a dream many years ago, which instructed him in the unity of God, and that none of the powers worshipped by the Osages is He. He now thinks that the God whom we preach is the being whom the voice had in view. No untutored Osage has ever manifested such an interest in the doctrine of redemption. On being told about the song of the blessed in heaven, he expressed his desire to go there and said he would sing the praises of Christ. Though not decrepid, he is quite aged, having lived to see six successive chiefs at the head of his people. I have since learned that he is known as a dissenter from the prevailing Osages, having declined to teach the sacred songs to the young men. Can it be possible that the regeneration of this sensual, hardened nation is about to commence in "his aged brave, this veteran in idolatry and sin?"

"Every additional interview with the people presents new instances of the narrowness of their views, and the selfishness of their motives of action. A man from the town says that he attends meetings, and often tells others what he has heard. The people say to him, "You are a hearer of the missionary. We suppose he has made you his friend. What does he give you for listening to him? Now he wishes to know "when they inquire again what he shall tell them." The only encouraging trait in their whole character is an increasing disposition toward the stationary mode of living. The chief, on taking his pipe, in a considerable company, uttered this extraordinary prayer in regard to a favorite infant son, "May he be a raiser of cattle and swine together," and turning to me inquired if he had done right."

Reverend Vaill's Journal. (3)

"May 7, 1833. The preaching band consisting of Messrs. Montgomery, Fleming, Wilson and myself, set off for Clermont's village. The ride was delightfully pleasant. From Union to the town, twenty-five miles is extended one continued meadow, as it were, of green grass and flowers, interrupted only by stripes of timber along the creeks, and clusters of trees encircling the hills and gentle declivities which we occasionally pass through, or leave to the right and left of the road. The hills near the village which I described twelve years ago in the *Missionary Register*, are still a curiosity, and will be to the end of time. How long they have appeared in their present most regular form is uncertain. The first impression on seeing them is that they are vast fortifications raised by the art of power of man. Another might imagine that once the prairie, or the plain, two hundred feet below, was on a level with their tops, and that some vast flood like Noah's, or some powerful current had left them all of the same height, and in their present regular form. And I call them regular for the same reason I call a cone or parallelogram regular figures. And I speak of them, as they certainly stand among the wonders of God's works. These hills serve the Osages as a tower of observation to descry the approaching enemy; also as citadels, for on some of these hills, have the villagers built their town and prepared to defend themselves in time of danger.

"The shocking details that follow show how savage and bloodthirsty some of the Indians are, even on our borders, and up to this very day; and they show too, how disheartening it is to our missionaries when they go to preach the gospel of peace—of good will to men, to find themselves surrounded by beings so infatuated and so full of exultation in view of the revenge they have taken.

"On reaching the town at evening, we found all in commotion. For five days the Osage warriors had been coming in from an excursion against the Pawnees. I shall not stop here to give particulars, but will note them when I have learned them more perfectly. I would observe, however that there was great rejoicing over the multitude of scalps brought in—drumming, dancing and yelling. I stepped out to

^{3.} Ibid. V. 29, pp. 366-68, October 1833.

see the dance. All the warriors are seated in a circle around two or three fires. One rises and dances towards the centre, stooping along, jerking back first one elbow then the other, looking this way and that way, darting up his shield or his tomahawk. He stops and returns to his seat, and then a general shout is raised. Another goes through a similar movement; then another, with intervals of shouting that you may hear two miles. In the meantime the Osage drum, which is a deer-skin stretched over the head of a keg, is kept beating.

"One heart and one soul animates the whole town. But why does this seem so savage in the Indian, when it is so little disapproved among civilized men? Why civilized butchers so much more polite and reasonable than uncivilized? Civilized nations kill only the husbands, or the fathers, or the brothers and leave the widows, the orphans, the sisters or the parents to live and pour out their sorrows, and feel their miseries; while the Indians at once stop these living sufferings by slaying all, literally all; for it is a rule among the Indians to slay all if they can, those excepted whom they may find it for their convenience to take as prisoners.

"We composed our thoughts in prayer, committed ourselves to God and spreading our blankets, fell asleep, leaving those dancers still rejoicing.

"May 8. Had an interesting talk with a cluster of young men standing at the corner of the lodges, who contended that there was no God because they could not see him. At last one who had remained silent replied to my reasoning, that the Tah poos kah, missionary knows for he has read the Bible. After talking half an hour apparently to good effect one spoke and said "We are tired of standing; we will come to hear you when you commence preaching." After we had taken our breakfast we sent forth the woh pah crier, and forty or fifty came in. Took my text, "He that made the eye, shall not see!" Did this continue the subject that so much interested the young men in the conversation, to the spiritual character of God. For though the Osages have some notion of God, talk of him and pray to him, yet their woh-kun-dah seems to have no spiritual nature or attributes. Their God is either visible and material or some undefined imaginary being. We spent the day in preaching all we could for their instruction. Each one gave them a portion of truth as opportunity presented.

"How indisposed their wars render them to hear the gospel. The effect of war on any people, we all know, is irreligiously does it effect the Indians. Here it affects all. In war, the Indians of a tribe are all united chiefs, warriors, counsellors, and soldiers—man, woman and children, and almost their horses and dogs, are agreed to it. There is no dissenting voice, no vexing minority, either opposing the rest or indifferent about its success. And so it is, that those who tarry at home will stand all agape, with ears erect to catch the first favorable news; and when the warrior returns, with what eagerness does the wife sit to hear the tale of her husband's exploits, or the child the rehearsal of his father's deeds. Why, indeed, should not all be interested, since first or last all have a personal interest. One has lost a child; another a wife a brother or sister; and every death in town increases the stock of general revenge, and calls for larger dividends of dealing in slaughter, gives new impetus to the spirit of war, and nerves the warrior's arm to wield, if possible, more dextrously the skull-splitting ax. Moreover, every new victory occasions new honor and produces a new revival of the war spirit. Here is a young man who has never been to war before. He, for the first time strikes the enemy with his tomahawk. Among the Osages, shooting an enemy, brings no renown. You may shoot him down, shoot him dead, even, yet he that has the courage, the swiftness first to approach and to strike him with the tomahawk, he is the brave. He goes home among the braves, and he now struts the streets, careful to hold the blade of his most glorious ax where you cannot miss seeing it. The family to which he belongs now send presents to the leader, saying to him, "It is by your great skill and providence that our son has become great." The leader of these parties is one whose honor is established years ago, and who now leaves all

the chances of becoming great to his younger comrades. And when the scalp dance comes on, who is indifferent? What relative of the conqueror must not now go forth? What wife, or sister, or daughter must not now be equipped in the best which their scanty wardrobes, scarcely opened on any other occasion ,afford? In such a time as this, are we now called to preach the gospel to this village. "My bowels, my bowels, I am pained at my very heart."

"Most of the wars of the Osages and Pawnees are of a predatory character, consisting in attacks upon small hunting or war parties, plundering the villages of their enemy, and murdering the women and children when the men are absent, stealing horses etc. Most of the vows and prayers of the Osages are made to obtain success in these expeditions, so that, in what may be termed their devotions, the most fierce and revengeful passions are cherished.

"May 9. We always find a great many blind, sore-eyed people in the Osage villages. The causes of their blindness may be their smoky lodges, mudding their faces when mourning or mad (more properly), painting themselves when rejoicing, pulling out their eye-brows, and being so much in the sun without hats. "I wonder," said one this morning, "that God does not mend my eyes for me." I told him, "Keep the mud and paint off and go wash your face and eyes every morning in yonder stream that God has made for your use, and they will be mended." Then turning to one who stood listening, having his face muddled, and seeing that he was an old and familiar friend, I assumed a little more boldness than usual, and said to him, "My brother, why have you on this mud?" He replied, "To make me happy." For if he muddled and fasted and prayed, that would make him successful in going to war; then he should have many horses, and that would make him ah-log-go-ne feel happy. Then said I, "The Pawnees will be ke-log-go-ne, feel happy, in their turn in stealing your horses." This is but swapping horses with the Pawnees. Would it not be much better for you to ride your own horses and let the Pawnees ride theirs? Moreover, it is a costly way of swapping horses, for, to get Pawnee horses, you have to butcher their owners; and they, in their turn, are aiming to butcher you. So your superior happiness must be short lived." I went on to tell him that this Pawnee war was a sort of self-moving machine, keeping itself alive; and that the more swiftly they pursued it, the sooner both parties would close up their concern of happiness by utterly destroying each other. I then showed him the more excellent way to become happy—by loving the Pawnees as themselves, seeking their good, and living as brothers. In this, however, he had no faith; although for some time before I ceased my argument against his course, he was silenced, if not convinced of its impolicy. When I pointed him to heaven as the land of perfect happiness, the words maw-shaw-log-go-ne used by the interpreters for heaven, which means happy country, recalled to his mind the wish of our government for the Osages to remove, and he commenced speaking against our government. I answered by pointing still to heaven as the happy place.

"We endeavored to assemble the people again this day but met with poor encouragement. After having severally delivered our message and offered our prayers in their behalf, we returned again to Union. I ought here to mention that our interpreter at this time was a young man who was received to our school twelve years ago, and brought up. He is now married to a young Osage woman as sister in the church at Harmony, and settled near that mission. He was accompanied by a brother-in-law, a hopeful convert, who before he left the village, exhorted and prayed in the Osage language, which seemed to surprise our hearers, and for some reason to delight them, for they all said, Toh-keh, good.

Destroy Pawnee Village.

"May 10. Having ascertained as near as I could the extent of the late destruction of the Pawnees, I will proceed to the narration.

"Immediately after the close of the late Osage council at Fort Gibson, three

hundred Osage warriors, as if to give the commissioners who had been striving to make peace between them and the Pawnees, a specimen of their power and prowess in war, and to delay or to counteract the wishes of the government, started for war. These warriors fell on the trail of a large party of Pawnee warriors, who were going north toward some Osage villages beyond Clermont's, and taking their back track, as we say, soon reached a small village on a stream south of Red river and of course in the Spanish territory. Here their revenge found satisfaction, for they fell on the old men, women and children whom they found in a defenceless state, and utterly destroyed them all. As they said, "none escaped," seven prisoners excepted; five of whom we found in the Osage village. The number of scalps was supposed to be more than one hundred, and the number of horses more than four hundred. They had also some Mexican dollars, supposed to be some of those which these people, or their neighbors, the Camanches, had taken from a party of white traders which had lately been robbed, in returning from Santa Fe.

"Every year some of the Santa Fe traders from Missouri are cut off and robbed by the Indians. Last winter the party referred to above, consisting of about twelve, was attacked on their homeward bound course, and one or two killed. The rest fought for their lives for the space of thirty-six hours, when the Indians, after they had killed most of their horses and mules, allowed them to escape in the night, as the money was what they wanted. They had with them \$20,000 or \$30,000 in specie, all of which they left buried or scattered in the sand, on the spot where they had fought and kept the Indians off for so long a time. These men were out thirty or forty days before they reached our frontier, having suffered meantime incredibly, by reason of hunger. For the last days they could scarcely crawl along a mile or two, being reduced to mere skeletons. At length they reached the Creek nation and some of them put up at Dr. Weede's. I have seen some of them myself and heard them tell the tale of sorrow. I have seen, as I apprehend, some of those Mexican dollars, with all the marks of sand-rust upon them, taken by the Pawnees from the traders, and then by the Osages from the Pawnees. The Osages said they found them in the pockets or about the persons of those they slew. Thus it is that the robbers themselves have been robbed. Among the horses brought home, are some white people's horses, with distinct brands.

"A word respecting the Pawnee scalps. Of these we saw what may be called an immense quantity, elevated on poles, on tops of their graves and their houses. And here again, the Osages had robbed the robbers as well as scalped the scalpers; for they pillaged the Pawnee village of a large quantity of scalps which they had taken off from the heads of other tribes. The scene was exceedingly revolting. The poles strung with scalps were raised on the tops of their houses through the village. Here you might see the covering of an old gray head, there the bush of hair torn from a woman's skull, and there the covering of the infant's head. Every grave in sight of the town is protected by a scalp lifted on a pole, as though it had the virtue of the brazen serpent lifted by Moses.

"Yesterday, after we had taken pains to collect an audience, while we were yet speaking the cry was made that two Osages had been killed by the Pawnees. It produced a bustle in the moment; but Cheatoga soon called them to order, by telling them the men were from the Big Hill town; that they were killed far away on the salt plains; and that no danger was near; and so the company tarried with seeming impatience a little longer. The village, on the whole, exhibits at this time unusual signs of depravity, and resembles more the entrance to perdition than the gate of heaven.

"The sight of the prisoners relieved the scene a little. The Osages go to war to revenge the death of some one; and if they can bring home a living child, it seems to satisfy the mourner. I saw a little child eating corn out of a dish, and the new mother with her arms around it. She seemed to love it as though it were really

her own son. In another a little boy turns up his eye, as I enter the lodge, to see who is this new stranger. Can nothing be done to collect into school these numerous Pawnee children whom the Osages bring in?

Hopefield and White Hair's Village.

"May 12. Sabbath. Yesterday we all rode to Hopefield. Today we collected the people of the settlement, and in our turn discoursed with them as long as we thought prudent. More interest was here manifested than at the large town; yet what seemed to rest deeply on the minds of these settlers was their approaching third removal. For the Indians are all soon expected to be removed to their reservation and even north of it. This I see weighs down the minds of these colonists.

"As we were traveling slowly along, approaching White Hair's village, talking on the beauties of the prairie, the wealth of the soil, the sweetness of the air, the reasons the Osages have to be satisfied with their reservation, the motives which exist to induce them to become farmers, and also meditating on the urgency of our duty to these benighted pagans, we saw an Indian come leaping towards us through the grass from a little village on this side of the main one. He began his address to us by saying that he had news for us. "Yesterday," he said, "all the people returned from a buffalo hunt." Very good, said I to myself then we shall have more hearers tomorrow. "They have killed few buffalo," said he, "but they have killed twenty-two Pawnee warriors. Two Osages have also been killed." This at once opened to us the reason why the Osage had come in so suddenly, having been out but a few days. The people, it seems, had gone out on their spring hunt, but espying a number of men the warriors pursued them, to the number of 200 and overtaking them, slew them all; none escaped. But the manly and obstinate resistance of the enemy cost the lives of two Osages. One Osage horse was killed, and several men wounded—some sorely. The enemy fought wholly with their bows and arrows; and one of the Osages was killed after he had shot down the enemy, and bravely ran up to strike him with his tomahawk. Then it was that the enemy let fly one fatal arrow, and killed the almost triumphant Osage. Thus we found these people as well as Clermont's in a most unfavorable condition for hearing the gospel preached.

Indian Scalp Dance.

"May 15. Visited White Hair's village and collected a few of the people, but they appeared reluctant to do so, as they had come in from their buffalo hunt on purpose to dance over the scalps of the slain; and their minds are all taken up with their victory. In one lodge is a sitting wounded hero, relating the splendid affair to his wife and company. In another one is washing, or shaving his head, or painting and performing the ceremony of turning his mourning into joy, and literally, according to the Osage idea of beauty, receiving beauty for ashes. All are preparing for the scalp dance. We saw the poles thrust up through the roofs of the lodges, strung with scalps, the ears, and the plunder of the slain. In one house and another we saw many of the great men assembled together counselling, and feasting, in preparation for the occasion. Oh what a place to preach the gospel. Even while a few of the great ones, chiefs, warriors, and counsellors condescended to respect your invitation, so as to come together, some are asleep; others are inquiring, "Is he almost done? I am in a hurry." In one instance, the cook actually came in and called a party to a feast; but they politely waited till the interpreter pronounced the word Coshoo, it is finished when they retired, the master of the lodge apologising and saying, "It is a business day with us. It is difficult to give attention to preaching at such a time." When we told them we should come again to their town on the Sabbath, they said, "Our dance will be over before that time." Mr. Jones from Harmony, joined us this evening.

"16. Rode to another village farther north, where we found a little better access

to the people. Still they tarried to hear a very short time; and the chief said his people were preparing to join the dance tomorrow on the other side of the river. Feeling our need of prayer, we united together in the village, and sung Heber's hymn, "From Greenlands' Icy Mountains," then returned to Boudinot and spent the evening in supplication.

"17. Visited Wasoshi's town. Here we could collect no audience, as the day here was also devoted to dancing, and great preparations were going on. Some were opening the roof of a lodge that spectators may look in; females dressing in their best attire, with scarlet calico, ribbons, and feathers; and the men were shaving and painting, caparisoning the horses for the mounted grooms who dash about the streets to keep order. About 12 o'clock the dance came on and proved to be a female dance. Thirty or forty of the relatives of the visitors arrange themselves in a row on one side of the lodge, facing the other side. All appeared well, most of the young all decorous and grave; and while their fine and fantastic dresses looked like dancing, their countenances betokened mourning or deep and sober thought. When all were arranged the music struck and they set themselves in motion, taking a kind of sideway step, keeping time with their hands and the bunch of feathers they hold in each hand, and so encircle the musicians, who sit pounding on their sort of drums in the centre. After this course has been pursued for a little time a part of the circle break and run from the lodge with great haste. This motion proves to be a ceremony. It is a token of rejoicing, as if they were running to meet some of the warriors who are equipped and coming to mingle in the dance. Now they all march back to the lodge and the scene changes. They dance round the music in processions two and two. Here pass two modest looking females, and then a ludicrous looking warrior jumping and pounding along, and then another terrific form of a man. In this manner the men move round among the women—some painted black, some red—holding their weapons in one hand and their shields in the other, performing wild and fantastic manoeuvres as they pass round.

"18. According to appointment yesterday, we returned from the agency, where we tarried last night and obtained an audience for an hour or two. Yet they were impatient, as, in the afternoon, they desired to attend the dance at White Hair's ten miles below. We tarried till twelve o'clock and unanimously concluding that we have no more work in that village at present, returned to Boudinot.

"19. Sabbath. Rained hard last night, but yet the river is fordable this morning. Greatly encouraged to proceed in my work. Oh why should I despond, or abandon the heathens by reason of their deadness to holy things. The Lord strengthen my faith in the promise. Ask me of me, saith the Father to his own Son, and I will give thee the heathen for they inheritance.

"Attended at White Hair's village and collected a few. At first they complained that it was difficult for them to attend, seeing their dance had not yet taken place, and was to be this afternoon. After they had sat rather impatiently for half an hour, I commenced the story of the birth of our Saviour in the manger. This had some effect. I went on for a while and described the doings of murderous Herod. This did still more rivet their attention. After proceeding a while, I stopped and inquired if they desired to hear more. They said they did. As I proceeded to his crucifixion and so on, I found that the history of our Saviour's birth and childhood, life and death, turned off their attention for a few minutes from war and dancing, as though there was one subject that did exceed in point of importance, that of their wars.

"Returned to Boudinot where Mr. Fleming gave us a discourse and in the evening, as we had done several times before, we united in solemn prayer. Precious is the rest of the Sabbath to the missionary.

"22. Returned to Union and found all in health and in temporal prosperity, the

excessive rains excepted, which have of late descended.

"Thus we have finished our third annual tour among the Osages. One or two villages, we did not visit. The Little Osages, we understood, were dispersed as follows: 300 had gone to war, a party on a buffalo hunt, and the women planting their corn."

Rev. Vaill, on May 10th, 1831, wrote this report of a missionary tour in which Messrs. Dodge, Vaill and Washburn participated: (4)

"Wednesday we rode over to Clermont's village, distant from Union twenty-five miles, a little north of west. Thursday we did what we could to collect the people, and gained some small audiences; but we found them much indisposed, especially the chief, young Clermont, who evidently strove to keep us from preaching to his people. And on Friday, finding it impossible to rally them again, we returned to Union, feeling that we had gone as far as we were able in communicating the gospel of that village, but with small hope of success in this effort. They appeared wild and agitated, as though we had come to call them to account some misdemeanors. Their depredations on their friendly neighbors in stealing horses and killing stock have been much greater of late than during any former season. And truly they are in a pitiable situation. Had they not made pretty free use of their neighbors hogs and cattle during the six weeks of excessive cold, which the last winter brought along, some of them at least must have starved. They strove to occupy the time allotted for preaching in making complaints. They professed great dissatisfaction at the proceedings of the mission. But it was not hard to answer these objections as every thing they said, proceeded from envy, and nothing from fact or reason.

"On Saturday we proceeded to New Hopefield, about thirty miles north of Union on the Neosho. Here we had more satisfaction, as we in turn addressed the settlers on the concern of their souls, nearly all of whom were assembled both morning and evening. On Monday we rode to the LaBett, forty miles. On Tuesday reached Boudinot, the new station lately built by Mr. Dodge on the north of the Neosho, thirty miles from the crossing of the LaBett. On Wednesday we commenced preaching at one of White Hair's villages on the south side of the Neosho, two miles from Boudinot. Here a goodly number assembled at White Hair's house. The chief himself was, however, absent. The reason was not rendered, unless it was as he left word with his wife, to hunt some venison. It might have been for ought we know to feed the missionaries whom he expected. Continued our exercises at this village until Thursday noon. On Friday opened our services at Wasooches' town, sixteen miles above and at the other villages of White Hair's people, still on the same side of the river. Here we had the countenance of Mr. Choteau, the agent of the United States government who himself attended us through the exercises, having first stated to them that we had come among them to preach the gospel for their benefit, and desired them to listen to what we might say. The next day we found more difficulty in collecting the people, they having a religious ceremony of their own, which commanded their attention. Finding the crier did not succeed, I went forth myself, and invited as many as I found. There was quite an assembly of young people and boys. I told them that, as they had listened to my call, I would speak to them in particular, and they gave a favorable attention while I exhorted them to remember their Creator.

"Thus we closed our opportunity here, and in the afternoon rode on to the Little Osages called also, Walk-in-Rain's village. This village is probably larger than either of White Hair's, but not so large as Clermont's. It is situated ten miles farther up the Neosho, on a gentle eminence, in the open prairie, commanding a vast prospect.

4. Ibid, V. 27, pp. 287-89, September 1831.

"Here we spent the third Sabbath of our tour, and preached at least four times to a much more attentive audience than before. There was something significant in their very countenances, and their sensibility in several instances was quite remarkable. We left the place on Monday morning thankful that we had been able to carry the gospel in this tour to the remotest villages of the Osages. We returned to the residence of the agent, fifteen miles south of the Little Osages, between the two villages of White Hair. After dinner we called together the people of his neighborhood. Americans, French, Negroes, and Osages, to the number of fifty or sixty and one of us addressed them in English and another through an interpreter. ,

"In conclusion we have the satisfaction of thinking that we have done what we could in this tour to bring the gospel before this people. Though thousands have not heard, yet some hundreds and probably more than a thousand, among the Osages alone, have heard the word which is able to make them wise unto salvation.

"It has given us peculiar pleasure that we have been aided in preaching to the Osages by a good interpreter, Stephen VanRensselaer, who received his education at the Foreign Mission School and at Miami University. He has acquitted himself to our acceptance in interpreting our discourses. His knowledge of our language and of the scriptures aids him much, and gives him the advantage of any one that we have used before. He is a professor of the Christian faith and appears to be actuated by a good spirit and a desire to do good to his perishing kindred.

"On Tuesday we left Boudinot and in three days reached Union again."

The Missionaries Encounter Difficulties.

The letter from Rev. W. B. Montgomery, dated Union, December 27, 1831, tells of difficulties he encountered when he tried to teach the Osages: (1)

"Since the removal of the Osage settlement at Hopefield, in 1830, it has been my wish to spend as much of my time as possible among the people at the large town. No change, however having taken place in their wandering habits, it is only during particular portions of the year that they are within our reach; and even when stationary there are many things which render it difficult to remain long with them, or to accomplish much in the business of our instruction. The whole of their conduct towards us seems to be contrived to throw as many obstacles in the way of our labors as can consist with the preservation of friendly appearances towards ourselves. Though making unbounding pretensions to hospitality, they will neither furnish a missionary with a regular supply of food nor suffer him to use his own without the payment of a heavy duty. Though the habit of spending much of their time in large companies, when a missionary proposes to preach a tedious negotiation has to be entered into, when all their ingenuity is put in requisition, either to prevent the meeting by getting up a council or a dance, or to render it almost nugatory by calling on none but a few old men, or in some way preventing the people from attending. When commenced the discourse is liable to be interrupted and the meeting broken up by the receipt of news the arrival of strangers from another town, or any such trifling occurrence. In this way they harass and discourage both preacher and interpreter, though the latter is more exposed to the influence of their dry wit and drollery which often circulate on such occasions and sometimes finds it a severe trial of fortitude to proceed with an unwelcome task. On one occasion last summer their opposition assumed a more definite and authoritative form than usual. While waiting for the chief to send his criers to call the people to meeting, as he had previously engaged, he came forward and stated that the minds of the people were in a very agitated state respecting some public concerns, and that it would be

1. *Missionary Herald*, V. 28, p. 257, August 1832.

impracticable to draw their attention to any other subject. He further said, "We have no objection to the preaching, it is a good thing," and pointing to the bible added "Take home the book and keep it for me. When our difficulties are over, bring it back and we will listen to you." Two other principal men who came with them said their views were the same. In the circumstances I did not consider it my duty to persist, though I afterwards found that the conduct of Clermont was not generally approved; and that no other difficulties than usual were to be met in assembling the people. Though but little interest appears to be taken by the generality in any religious subject, yet in conversation with individuals we sometimes find that they understand enough, in some cases to satisfy their minds of the truth of our statements, in others to excite the most lively opposition. An instance of the latter was exhibited by the well known Mad Buffalo in regard to the justice of God, a doctrine on which his feelings were no doubt influenced by the imprisonment which he suffered, some years since, at Little Rock. To punish a criminal, in any case, he would by no means admit to be consistent with goodness; and not even the finding of a ransom to suffer in the room of sinners, could reconcile his mind in the divine proceedings. But the truth which excites the most frequent animadversion is the spirituality of the divine nature. "Have you ever seen God? What sort of a being is he? Where is he?" are questions which they often put with evident feelings of triumph.

"The above particulars are stated, not as at all unusual in the commencement of a mission in a heathen country, nor as constituting any particular ground for discouragement in regard to the Osages; but as serving to cast light on the nature of our present labors, and to account in some degree for the smallness of our progress. The reluctance which this people have hitherto manifested in regard to religious instruction cannot be supposed to arise from any distinct apprehension of the nature of the gospel. Perhaps it may, in part, be attributed to the doubtful state of their minds on the great question, whether they will adopt the ways of white people, or persevere in their wandering life. In their conceptions, the arts, government and religion of white people are viewed as a whole, inseparable one from another. All their traditions and ceremonies lead them to this conclusion. We have always found that much pains are required in order to prevent them from confounding farming with religion. While, therefore, their minds are not made up to adopt our customs and mode of life, they appear to consider it necessary to resist the entrance of light on any subject, and to reject every innovation on the ancient system.

Sees Favorable Change.

"It is gratifying to have ground to hope that the opposition from this source will not be of long continuance. An evident change has of late certainly taken place in their sentiments in regard to civilization. All expectation of being able to maintain their hunter state seems now to be really abandoned. Instead of arguing strenuously against both the necessity and the practicability of their living by cultivating the soil, they appear now to be seriously convinced that this is their only alternative. Formerly, they looked with contempt and dislike on the undertaking at Hopefield, and blamed the missionaries for their agency in it. Now, many of them profess to be desirous to follow the example of the settlers and complain of us for not furnishing them with cattle and implements as well as the people at Hopefield. "You do nothing," said Clermont, last summer, "but talk about books; you have never given us a plough, an ax or a bake-oven; these are the things which I value." And just recently after inquiring if application might be made to our patrons for aid of this sort he said, "To a red man, destitute of means of living like white people, the education and sentiments of white people are of no use. Do you think the Cherokee\$ who send their children to your school took books first? No. I suppose they first received cattle, etc., and afterwards schools. If I had a house and things

like white people I would send a great many children to school." Others of the leading men descend with a great deal of earnestness on the project of farming and raising cattle. When government shall proceed to extend to them its promised aid in these pursuits, it is greatly desirable that care be taken that the expense be not lost, or worse than lost; as was the case in regard to the measures adopted in behalf of the upper branch of the nation."

Obstacles to Conversion.

"The difficulties the Osage mind had in comprehending the fundamental ideas of an omnipotent, invisible God, are set forth in a letter from Rev. Cephas Washburn, a missionary at Dwight Mission, in the Cherokee Nation, after participating in a missionary tour in the Osage Nation: (2)

"We found no one fully convinced of sin, no one anxiously inquiring after the way of salvation but did find several that expressed a conviction that their system of idolatry was sinful, that it provoked God, and was the cause of their poverty and misery, so that they would never be happy and prosperous till they embraced the true religion. This was very clearly expressed by some of the most intelligent and influential men among them. Wau-soh-shy, the principal chief of the village, is one. He told us he was very glad to see us and wished to have a great deal of talk with us about our religion. He immediately began in a most interesting manner. He held up six quills in one hand. One of these he placed alone; the other five he held up together. "These five," he said, "are the Osage Gods, the sun, the moon, the earth, thunder or the air, and the bird. Now you say these are no gods but all of them the creatures of your God. I believe it. The Osages have worshipped these gods a long time, and they have never made us happy they have done us no good. We have always been poor and miserable, I now cast away these gods." And he flung away his five quills. He then held up one quill and said, "This one is God. This is your God. Now tell us who he is." The perfections of God, as manifested in creation and providence, and as revealed in his word, were stated with particular minuteness, especially those attributes developed in the redemption of sinners by Jesus Christ. "All this", he said, "I understand, and it is all interesting. I believe it, but who is God?" Another brother went over the same ground in another view, if possible, to make it more plain and more interesting. He also dwelt fully on the unity of God, and the great sin of idolatry. He explained the meaning of the various names of God. When he closed, the same question with greater earnestness was all the reply of the chief, "Who is God? Has anyone seen him?" He was answered, "No man hath seen God. He is a spirit, invisible to mortal eyes. His existence and his perfections are manifested by their effects and more clearly revealed in his word. That it was unreasonable to require a sight of him before we could believe. That we all believed many things that were not obvious to our senses, that their effects fully satisfied us of their existence, and that they possessed the qualities indicated by the effect, which we beheld." To all this, his answer was as before, "Who is he? Has anyone seen him?" To this it was answered "Yes. He became flesh and dwelt amongst us." A history was then given of God manifest in the flesh. "Now", said he, "I am satisfied. God has been seen. When anyone asks me if the true God has been seen I will tell him, yes he lived in the world in the form of a man, more than thirty years." His mind was now satisfied on the subject which had given him the greatest perplexity. He was much interested in the preaching, and he felt some hope that he was beginning to experience the teachings of that Spirit of Truth who is sent to guide into all truth. And here I would remark, that it appears to me that the greatest obstacle in the way of the conversion of the Osages is what I would call materialism. Many would ask the same question as the chief, relative to the existence, not only of the divine Being, but also of the soul after the death of the body. They have no idea of an immaterial spirit. They walk by sense, and not by faith."

2. *Missionary Record*, pp. 322-24; *Missionary Tract Society, London*.

Reverend Charles F. VanQuickenborne, S.J., a noted Catholic missionary visited the Osages on the Neosho in 1827, with the view of establishing a missionary station among them. In making his report to his superior, he pointed out some of the difficulties then prevailing in the vicinity of the Neosho Mission and in the Osage country in general. His letter contained this: (3)

Speaking of the Osages: "To make Christians out of them you ought first to make them men. They must abandon their savage manner of living which, as practiced by them, is one continuation of mortal sin (i.e. objectively, without raising the question of subjective guilt). A change of the whole nation would have to take place either by the influence of the chiefs or agent or missionary; but neither of these can do it separately, but to do it in concordance is impossible (morally speaking). Several most influential individuals find it to their interest to keep the Indians in the state in which they are. The chiefs themselves have not power to make laws or regulations binding on the nation, to forbid for instance, things essentially contrary to a civilized life; neither has the agent. The American eye can never behold a Catholic priest directing or influencing both agent and chiefs and superintendent and secretary of war to make laws of his own liking. However, without some laws it is impossible to live with them.

"The fickleness of agents: These like the traders, are mostly keeping Indian women. To my certain knowledge, Mr. Hamtramck has none, yet since some time he has left off the practice of his religion. A missionary living in the nation would easily offend them. Once offended, they have it in their power to make the situation of the missionary so cruel that he could not stand it. The Protestant missionary who lives at the Indian village gets nearly every week a good flogging from some or other Indian fellow.

"The plurality of wives and barbarous custom relating to them: The riches of the Osages consist in having many wives, many girls and many horses. If he has many wives, he has many slaves; if he has many girls, he has many objects which he can sell very dear, for every wife must be bought. When a father thinks his daughter has not a good husband, he takes her away to his lodge and sells her."

Kenneth J. Foreman, writing under the heading of "We Have Lived With That Before," in the Presbyterian Outlook for January 31, 1949, made the following statement about the missionary condition in China, that might as fittingly be applied to the Osage missions of more than a century and a quarter ago:

"Problems, difficulties and dangers may be mild expressions of what those representatives of ours face. But 'we have lived with that triumvirate before.' The church that will not live intimately with its problems, dangers and difficulties is a dead church, here or in China or anywhere. The only Christianity that is vital is precisely the Christianity which knows how to live with these things. The problems may not always be solved, the dangers may be worse than expected, the difficulties may be literally killing. But what is the alternative?"

The sentiments expressed by Mr. Foreman appear to have animated the Osage missionaries of long ago to continue their efforts in the face of much opposition, and of fading prospects of success. He could as well have been speaking of their "problems, difficulties and dangers" when he said "We have lived with that before."

3. Letter of Rev. Chas. VanQuickenborne to Dzierozynski, in 1827,; Jesuits of the Middle United States by Garraghan, p. 191, V. 2.

What Measure of Success.

If we are to measure the success of these five Presbyterian missions among the Osages by the number of persons who were fully admitted to membership in their church, or by the number of pupils who reached any degree of efficiency in the school, it would seem that their missionary labors were in vain. It is not recorded that the missionaries converted even one adult Osage for enrollment as a church member. Atkeson said: (1)

It cannot be said historically that the mission schools were in any substantial sense a success, though they may have done some good. All the evidence obtainable of results at Harmony mission school in this county go to show that the ten years' earnest effort that was put forth in their behalf was poorly rewarded. Indeed it may be said that the school was a flat failure. . . . After about eleven years of habitation and fruitless labor, the mission was abandoned."

Morrison wrote (2)

"Mission Neosho, from the viewpoint of the Indians, was a failure. It did not succeed in converting them to Christianity, nor did it revolutionize their habits of living."

On March 1, 1834, Rev. Dodge wrote this: (3)

"As it respects the effect of the Gospel among this people there is nothing more than formerly to cheer the hearts of our patrons or the religious public. If anything I think the prospects have been more gloomy than ever before in some respects."

Prof. Wardell took a better view of these missions when he wrote: (4)

"The work was not in vain. Much good had resulted, yet it is doubtful if any real converts to the Christian religion were to be found. But this alone was not to be the test. There was substantial evidence that the training given the Osages helped to decrease stealing—a pernicious habit among them. It had been demonstrated especially at Hopefield, that the Indians could be induced to settle somewhat permanently and farm their crops. Some had learned that cattle and hogs would in a measure take the place of the fast disappearing buffalo. Probably 300 Indian boys and girls had received more or less instruction in the schools and had learned many useful things."

Catlin gives the missionaries credit for a very praiseworthy achievement about which the missionaries seldom spoke, and for which they claimed no credit, and which writers of history have overlooked. After spending a month at Ft. Gibson in 1834, during which he came daily in contact with Osages, he wrote: (5)

"Very great efforts have been made, and are being made amongst these people to civilize and Christianise them; and still I believe with little success. Agriculture they

1. Atkeson, in History of Bates County, Missouri, p. 75-76.
2. Morrison, in K.H.Q., August 1935, p. 234.
3. Missionary Herald, July 1834, p. 259.
4. Prof. M. L. Wardell, in Protestant Missions Among the Osages, in Chronicles of Oklahoma, Sept. 1924, p. 296-7.
5. Catlin, in North American Indians, V. 2, p. 50.

have caught but little of; and of religion and civilization still less. One good result, however, has been produced by these faithful laborers, which is the conversion of these people to temperance; which I consider the first important step towards the other results and which of itself is an achievement that redounds much to the credit and humanity of those whose lives have been devoted to its accomplishment."

Those writers who have declared these missions were a failure appear to have taken only a superficial view of the subject, and in doing so arrived at, to them, the only reasonable conclusions. There was little visible evidence to the contrary. Had they gone deeper, they would have tempered their views. The number of converts does not convey any definite information as to actual results. Statistics do not always tell the whole story. Much good has been done in the world to and by persons not officially on the church rolls; even to persons who were never inside of a church. Who can say just how much fruit some of the good seed sown in sermons preached in wigwams or under the shade of the oak tree produced; who can measure the extent of the spiritual forces thus set in action, or how far they extend into the future? Some seeds slow to germinate ultimately make big trees. It cannot be known what might have been the condition of the Osages in after years. The influence to which Catlin refers is significant. The gradual and final complete abandonment of plural wives had its inception in these missions. The decrease in warfare by the Osages dates from this missionary period. The Osages, in time, became one of the most peaceful tribes in America. Scalp-lifting disappeared years ago, and trustworthiness succeeded the disposition to steal. Missionary influences in 1825, brought about the formation of an organized form of civil government, the first in "a nation hitherto lawless in the extreme." Much, if not all of the credit for these remarkable changes, as well as to the great increase in devotion to agriculture, must be given to the Christian influences exerted by the missionaries. If they did not get the natives on the church roll, they sowed the seed that affected their thoughts, beliefs and conduct so as to surely, even though slowly, bring forth good fruit. Little of this fruit was in evidence in the days of the missions. It was of slow growth. The Osages were slow to assimilate new ideas, and slow to adopt them. Evolution had to play its part. Time had to tell the story.

Some of the elder missionaries were in time convinced of these facts. One of these was Rev. Samuel Worcester, previously mentioned as having established a printing office in the old buildings of the Union Mission. He spent his active life as an Indian missionary.

Althea Bass, in her story of the Cherokee Messenger, Page 291, says this of the conclusions of Rev. Worcester:

"Sometimes, as he grew older, Samuel Worcester indulged himself in reminiscences. He recalled that hope of swift—it seemed to him almost instantanous—evangelization

of the Indians that had been the expectation of the American Board; he held now, out of the wisdom of years of experience and knowledge of practical problems, a kind of tolerant amusement toward this conception of Indian civilization. He had read the reports of the Board during its earlier years, and he remembered that, as early as 1816, there had been mention of efforts that had been "frustrated or impeded by causes utterly beyond the power of the Committee to control." Then in those impatient years, the Board had barely begun its work; when it set forth its aims "gradually with the Divine blessing, to make the whole tribe English in their language, civilized in their habits, Christian in their religion," it had still some of the impatience of immediate accomplishment. Samuel too, had been impatient when he first came out to the Indians; He had not dreamed, when he dreamed of saving the souls of the Indians of the complexities involved in the undertaking. Now he knew that to evangelize the Indians meant to teach them a way of life, and that this teaching was a long slow process. He in his own lifetime might see little more than the beginning of it. A good beginning, he had learned, was all that one generation of laborers might hope to accomplish. To see the feet of the Indians set in the right direction, not to see the journey accomplished was now his hope. Slowly, surely, patiently—only so was the work of the Lord accomplished." •

Some claim the schools were more successful than the missions. They were so closely related that separate evaluations are difficult. Education is good, but Christian education is better. The missionaries promoted the latter. Some of the above results came from the missionary efforts exerted through the schools. Good results of the combination were observed as early as 1832: (6)

"There is everywhere a marked difference between those who have been members of the school and those who have not; and in traveling among the Osages, Creeks and Cherokees, it is generally easy to distinguish by their appearance and manners, those who have heretofore been connected with any of the mission schools, and those who have enjoyed no such advantages."

Educated Christian mothers who emanated from these schools played their part in the evolutions of the tribe; and the boys who became interpreters, business agents, and heads of families were not without their good influences.

"In 1834 Colonel Dodge had with him in his campaign to the Pawnee Picts an Indian youth named Monpisha who had been trained in the schools. His short speech to the council of western Indians and Colonel Dodge fairly well represents the best that came from the work of the missionaries. Monpisha said to the assembly: (7)

" 'We shake hands with pleasure. I am nothing but a boy, my father was an Osage chief; we wish to be your brothers—dogs fight. We wish to be peaceable men and friends. Our good father has made in coming to you, a great road; we hope it will never be stained with blood. My father told me that he was once a wild Indian; that white men taught him to be happy, instructed him to build houses, raise cattle, and live like white men. I was sent to the white man's school, (mission school) was taught to read and write; this will be extended to you, if you make peace with the white men; your buffalo will be gone in a few years; your good father, the President will give you cattle, and teach you how to live without buffalo.' "

6. Missionary Herald, Jan. 1835, p. 25.

7. House Doc. 2, 23rd Cong., 2nd ses.; quoted by Wardell, as in note 4.

While the missions, from the standpoint of Indian welfare, were not the success expected of them, or that they merited, they cannot be classed as failures. The missionaries were truly the "voice of one crying in the wilderness," "making straight the way."

Hill calls attention to another point: (8)

"But although this mission did not accomplish great results for the Indians, it became the center of Christian influence for this portion of the state when the Indians were gone and the white men had their places."

Miss Denton confirms the above in her thesis: (9)

"The importance of the mission lay in the fact that it was one of the first religious centers of Missouri and from it radiated a religious influence which resulted in the organization of many churches in the western part of this state—churches whose elders and most efficient workers belonged to the original mission band. It was Harmony, along with Dwight and Union missions, that formed the nucleus of the Kansas City Presbytery. It was Harmony that brought into western Missouri a fine class of pioneer settlers who became the leading and substantial citizens of Bates, Henry and Vernon counties."

The missionaries, despite their sincerity of purpose and the earnestness of their zeal, were not without their own shortcomings. They were human beings with human limitations. They had just passed from cultured New England into a land of savagery. They had come from good families; from a section where the highest type of civilization and education in America prevailed, and really were not prepared for what they met. They were not prepared for such a transition.

It is not at all improbable that the missionaries misjudged their audiences; that they did not comprehend the state of mind and the character of those they came to convert. Before them stood human nature, naked, in its savage, repulsive, uncouth, vulgar forms. They saw the external, but not the internal. An intelligent understanding of the Indian nature was handicapped and made more difficult by the disparity of languages. More stoical than conversive, the Indians made no effort to relate or show their feelings. Under the circumstances they were not easily penetrated, nor were the missionaries to blame if they failed to draw sound conclusions, so necessary for the success of their efforts.

A perspective view, after a lapse of more than a century, based on such reports as are available, and without any direct knowledge of their sermons, inclines one to the belief that the missionaries did misjudge their audiences, and that they did not sufficiently pave the way for the proper presentation of many of the important but not easily understood truths of religion. In their ardent zeal to accomplish their good purposes quickly, and without definite knowledge of

8. Hill's Presbytery of Kansas City, p. 102.

9. Doris Denton's Thesis, "Harmony Mission;" Kansas University.

the conditions of the Indians and of their state of mind, they may have failed in judging this section of humanity in the rough.

The method of preaching may bring gladness, happiness and heaven, or it may bring the saddest news ever told on earth. It can bring a happy response, or stimulate a stubborn resistance. It may destroy or aggravate the old without establishing the new. If not comprehended fully, it brings confusion. Faced with a myriad of vices, it is not unreasonable to suspect that the missionaries attacked them too vigorously; that they were too unbending to conciliate; that they undertook to drive rather than lead, thereby developing stubbornness and antagonisms rather than the needed friendships. They tried to adjust the Osages to their way of thinking and believing too rapidly, and lost a lot of time in so doing, without success in the end. This does not necessarily mean that the missionaries were entirely at fault. The Indians were just as strange to them as they were to the Indians. Each presented new problems to the other, with the difference in language handicapping both in mutual understandings. To the Osage mind, untrained to think or reason beyond nature's lessons, the wide difference between what they had traditionally believed for centuries, and the, to them, new doctrine now being presented, was staggering. What a task to form a true idea of a God in stunted minds that have for centuries associated Him with the elements, with material forms in nature, in the firmament, when the adoption of those ideas require an entire readjustment of age-old customs; of a God whose teachings contain mysteries about which the world's learned men disagree! They just could not catch the spirit of this new civilization.

Many of the Indians were following practices diametrically opposed to Christian teachings, and were loath to give them up. Plural wives came in this class; stealing horses was another; killing a peaceable enemy to obtain a scalp for warrior qualifications, or to avenge a death, even though natural, was another. They had learned from tradition and practice to believe these were not wrong. To embrce Christianity meant severing family ties. It would require a generation or more to remedy this evil alone. Obtaining scalps for certain purposes was, to them, a fundamental part of their religion handed down to them by their fathers for ages, nobody knows how many ages. The Osages believed this with as much sincerity as the white Christian believes in Christ. In a sense, it was "bred and born in the bone." To them it was right, while to the missionaries it was abominable. The transition was no easy problem to solve. Could the Osages have had the vision to peer into the future and see the divergent consequences that might result from these antagonistic religious policies they might have steered a wiser course. In their blindness, they were inclined to spurn, or to ignore the teachings of those who came to seek their

redemption. Nor can we blame those primitive people when we ourselves often display no greater wisdom.

The indifference towards Christian teachings manifested by so many of the Osages may have been the outgrowth of their lack of understanding or Christianity too rapidly presented for proper assimilation. The processes of evolution apply to the red men as well as to the white; aye, with even slower progress. The path to their minds had to be carefully prepared, the manner of approach carefully planned if the goal were to be reached. The successful teacher must forget the outward distinctions, whether personal or moral, seek responsive cords, and deliver his divine message in a form to meet the ability of the listener to absorb. Wise discretion must guide the hand and the heart of the Christian philanthropist in his efforts to lift the lowly creatures up from degradation. The salvation of the Indians meant the remaking of their lives; it meant long process of education would be necessary to enable them to attain a degree of understanding of Christianity, for habits of isolation, human nature and egotism which had become ingrained in them through the ages had to be uprooted. The present culture of the world is but the result of the evolution of Christian ideas and ideals presented by the great teachers of long ago, many of which were scorned when first advanced. The scorners even crucified Christ, the teacher of teachers. Present day culture did not come from a magician's wand, nor of a sudden, as if from nowhere. Its development has been a slow process. It is the outgrowth of ideas advanced by master minds, by inspired minds, and assimilated slowly by the more common minds. Even yet all have not adopted much of culture's best; some even reject much of it.

The evolution of ideas and ideals was even slower among the savages than among the more enlightened. It progressed by slow and gradual stages. Were not our ancestors barbarians? Our progress, even with the aid of Christianity, has been slow indeed. The ultimate cannot be introduced at the beginning. The way must be paved. New ideas must be inculcated by degrees. In this the missionaries may have miscalculated, or misunderstood. They were impatient of success. More than half of the world is yet heathen, or at least not Christian, after nineteen centuries of missionary effort by thousands of trained missionaries. There is therefore no reason to feel that the Osage missionaries labored in vain because they did not civilize and Christianize those Osages in fifteen years.

Whatever may be said of their shortcomings and lack of success, it must be freely admitted that the missionaries were sincere, earnest people who labored on with undaunted courage, with strength of

purpose and with an unfaltering faith in God; not in a few spasmodic efforts, but continuously during the best part of their lives. With them it was a labor of love bereft of self-seeking. They sought no personal distinctions; they sought no riches. They sought only the accomplishment of the purposes of their mission. If they failed to realize their expectations, it was not for lack of zeal; it was through no intentional fault of theirs.

Who can tell just what part these trail-blazing missionaries played in bringing the civilization of the Osages up to the high standard it reached a century later? Only the Divine Eye can see what the human eye fails to comprehend. Posterity must look upon them with respect and admiration. The tape of time reveals much.

Later Protestant Missionary Efforts.

After the departure of Wm. C. Requa in 1837, no established missionary stations were maintained among the Osages by the Protestants while the tribe remained on the Neosho. However, these organizations made efforts to obtain government sanction and aid for missionary work among the Osages, as shown by the following letters, photostat copies of which, obtained from the government archives, are in the hands of W. W. Graves, St. Paul Kansas:

In March 1838, the committee promoting the work of the Domestic Missions of the P. E. Church, New York City, adopted these resolutions:

"Resolved, That it be proposed to the Hon. C. A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, War Office, Washington, D. C., that this committee will establish schools among the Osages and Kansas and also among the Delawares and become the distributing agent of the government in the expenditure of the whole or a considerable part of the income of the education fund for the said tribes whenever they become available; provided the terms of such connection between this committee and the government shall be mutually agreeable."

To the above, Commissioner Harris replied in part, on May 4, 1838:

"It appears upon a view of all the circumstances that it will be inexpedient to establish a school among the Osages or Kansas at present even were adequate funds in the possession of the department. The former have given no indications of a disposition to locate themselves permanently, and their poverty will oblige them to direct their first efforts to procure subsistence."

The American Board again made an application on June 24, 1845, for permission to establish a school and mission among the Osages, to which Commissioner Medill replied February 5, 1846:

"I would inform you that authority has been given, and contracts made in August last year, for the erection of houses and the establishment of a manual labor school among those Indians, to be paid out of the education fund amounting to \$3456 per annum. These Indians are almost in a state of barbarism and the present effort is merely an experiment to test their disposition to civilization and improvement. . . .

This arrangement, different from what you desire may perhaps be attributed to the delay, for so long a time, of your society in making application."

The Baptists organized the American Indian Mission Society at Louisville, Ky., in 1842, with Rev. Isaac McCoy, the widely known Indian missionary as its agent. On February 16, 1846, Rev. McCoy wrote Commissioner Wm. Medill, saying they "wished to establish a mission, with schools as soon as practicable, among the Osage Indians. . . . Exceedingly anxious to carry out the above design we respectfully request that we be allowed to take charge of the manual labor school for which buildings are now being prepared by the government."

To the above, Mr. Medill replied, on February 21, 1846:

"I have to inform you that as early as 11 July, 1844, a petition was sent here from the Osages requesting that the school to be established among their people should be placed under charge of the Catholics, to which the Catholics had assented. On the 26th of the same month the supt. of Indian affairs who had enclosed the petition was informed that 'there was no objection to giving the Catholics the charge of the school when it is established, and you may so inform them.' "

The Jesuits opened the Osage Catholic Manual Training School near White Hair's big village on the Neosho river in May 1847.

Here are some brief biographies of the missionaries who labored at the missions described in this book:

William F. Vaill

William F. Vaill, superintendent of the Union Mission was born in Hadlyme, Connecticut, June 7, 1783, graduated from Yale College in 1806, settled in North Guilford, Conn., where he served as pastor of a local church for seven years before he enlisted in 1819, with the United Foreign Missionary Society, of New York to become a member of the missionary family soon to leave for missionary work among the Osages in what is now Oklahoma. He arrived at Union Mission February 18, 1821. He had been appointed as superintendent of this mission, and continued in that responsible position until he was released September 30, 1834. He was very active during the years he spent at this mission, and stood in high esteem by his associates and those who worked under him. In 1834 or 1835, he moved to Illinois and entered the Home Missionary Service and continued active until his death in 1865, at the age of 82, at Weathersfield, Illinois.

Mrs. Vaill was Miss Aseneth Selden, also of Hadlyme, Conn. She was strongly imbued with the missionary spirit and did her full share of the missionary work at Union. Their daughter Aseneth Vaill was the first white child born at Union, or perhaps in the old Indian Territory. In 1841, Miss Vaill married Freeman Burrows near the old Harmony Mission in Missouri who became the first postmaster of Papinsville, Mo., and the first county clerk and probate judge of Bates county, Mo.

Benton Pixley

Rev. Benton Pixley was one of the very active missionaries that came to Harmony in 1821. He was one of the first to learn the Osage language, and make use of it in his work. He was born in Great Barrington, Mass., July 27, 1783. Served as principal of the Montpelier, Vt. Academy. Was ordained April 19, 1816, served as pastor of the Congregational church at Williamstown, Vt., from 1816 until 1821, when he joined the mission family organized for the Harmony Mission. He worked among the Osages at Harmony until part of the tribe moved to the Neosho river, and he followed them and established the Neosho Mission near the present town of Shaw in Neosho county, Kansas. After a controversy with the Indian agent and some of the Osages he left there in 1829 and located near Independence, Mo., where he preached for the white people. He was released from the Missionary work January 31, 1831, and is said to have died at Independence, Mo., April 11, 1835.

He was married to Lucia F. Howell August 27, 1812. They were the parents of six children: Harriett Newell, Levi Parsons, Mary Jane (Mrs. Madison Meador), Lucia Francis, Flora Ann, A. B. Some of these children were born at the Neosho Mission and were the first white children born in what is now the state of Kansas.

Epaphras Chapman

Rev. Epaphras Chapman was listed on the records as assistant superintendent at Union, but he was in reality, the father of the Union and Hopefield Missions. He alone selected the site for Union, and with Wm. C. Requa, selected the site for the first Hopefield Mission, and he helped to get both started.

Early in 1819, the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York sent Rev. Chapman and Job Vinall west on a tour of inspection as to the best place to establish a mission. Rev. Vinall died of fever before he reached the Osage country, and Rev. Chapman went on alone, met the Osage leaders, and selected the place for where the Union Mission was located. On his return to New York he made a report that resulted in the organization of the first missionary family being sent to the Osages, and he was a member of that family, and was one of the first to arrive at the selected spot. On the way out, he made the arrangements with the government at Washington for its part in the undertaking. He was very active in the missionary work at Union, and studied hard to master the Osage language. On December 1, 1823, he joined W. C. Requa in establishing the Hopefield Mission where it was hoped, that by specializing in agriculture and industry, they might more easily gain the friendship of the natives and the more easily reach them with their gospel teachings. They were making good progress when Rev. Chapman died January 6, 1825. He was only thirty-two years old when death called him. What a powerful influence he might have wielded had he lived! His home was at East Haddam, Conn., when he joined the missionaries.

Nathaniel Brown Dodge

Rev. N. B. Dodge, who served as superintendent of Harmony Mission from its beginning until 1829, was born in Winchester, New Hampshire, June 5, 1781. He was a school teacher in his younger days, then served in the war of 1812. He had been preaching as a Congregational minister in Underhill, Vermont for eight years before he went to New York early in 1821 to organize the "Missionary Family" to be sent to the Osage country by the United Foreign Missionary Society. He left New York February 12, 1821, and arrived at Harmony August 8, 1821. After serving eight years as head of this mission, he moved

to Independence, Mo. Early in 1830, he was asked to take charge of a mission among the Osages on the Neosho, which he accepted. The Boudinot Mission was then established by him, two miles northwest of the present St. Paul, Kansas. He left this mission in the spring of 1835, and moved to Balltown, in Vernon county, Missouri, where he farmed and preached until his death on September 3, 1848. He was buried in the Little Osage grave yard in Vernon county.

Rev. Dodge married Sally Gale, March 22, 1803. She was born in Princeton, Mass., but then lived in Underhill, Vt. She died December 20, 1866. These of their children grew to maturity; Dr. Leonard Dodge, Philena Dodge, Sally Dodge, Nathaniel B. Dodge Jr., Jonathan Edwards Dodge, Samuel N. Dodge, Thomas S. Dodge, Harriett N. Dodge.

Amasa Jones

Amasa Jones served as head of the school at Harmony from its start until its close. He was born in Rindge, N. H., April 24, 1798, the son of a Revolutionary soldier, Asa Jones. He was teaching school at Woodstock, Vt., when he enlisted with the Missionary family destined for Harmony Mission in Missouri. At the school he not only taught school but he studied medicine under the family physician Dr. Belcher, and became what was then called a skilled physician. He abandoned the mission in 1836, and moved to Osceola, Mo., where he did missionary work for two years, then moved to Deepwater, Mo., where he preached and practiced medicine. Though he was really a Congregationalist, he was licensed to preach by the Arkansas Presbytery in 1832, and continued to work with the Presbyterians until his death at Deepwater, Mo., April 17, 1870. He was married to Roxana Stearns February 15, 1821. She was a native of Ashburnham, Mass.

William B. Montgomery

Among the members of the missionary family that left New York City on March 7, 1821 for the Harmony Mission in western Missouri, was Wm. B. Montgomery. He had been ordained as a minister and was to devote his life to missionary work among the Osage Indians. He took a leading part in the work at Harmony until September 1823 when he went south to attend the missionary convention at Dwight. He remained at Union for six months as assistant to the missionaries there, after which he returned to Harmony. Not long after the death of Rev. Chapman in 1825, Rev. Montgomery was transferred to Hopefield to become the missionary at that progressive settlement. He is listed by the *Missionary Herald* as being at Hopefield until 1830, after which it gives his home as Union. It is quite probable that after

1825, his time was divided between the work of the two stations which were closely associated. He devoted much time to the study of the Osage language. The Missionary Herald (Dec. 1834, p. 452) says "In accomplishing this object he had made much progress; and with some aid from one of his associates, Mr. Wm. C. Requa, he last spring completed an elementary book, embracing also translations of various portions of scripture, the first book ever written in the Osage language." The title of the book was Wahashe Wagaressa Pahurgeh Tse. Five hundred copies of 126 pages were printed in Boston in 1834. He had previously studied with Rev. Pixley under Wm. S. Williams, the interpreter at Harmony.

Rev. Montgomery was married when he enlisted in the missionary service but his wife died in October 1821, soon after they reached the Osage country. In October 1827, he was married to Miss Harriett Woolley, one of the workers at Harmony. He died August 17, 1834, at Hopefield, a victim of the cholera epidemic. Mrs. Montgomery died at Union ten days later of fever.

Rev. Montgomery was born in Danville, Pennsylvania.

William C. Requa

Wm. C. Requa might be credited with having done more for the good of the Osage Indians than any other member of the two mission families. He was an original member of the Union family where he took the lead in teaching agriculture. Later he joined with Rev. Chapman in establishing Hopefield Mission where they specialized in teaching the natives to build houses, raise livestock, and make gardens. After the close of Hopefield, he succeeded Rev. Dodge at Boudinot Mission. He continued in the missionary work until he was mustered out May 22, 1838, being the last one of the two missionary families to leave the Osage service. He was married to Susan Comstock, a member of the Family at Harmony, October 3, 1823. She died June 5, 1833. He married Jane Montgomery in 1837 who died one year later. In 1840 he married Sarah A. Nutting, by whom he had nine children. On quitting the Missionary work he moved to near Butler, Mo., where he served as a physician, preacher and farmer.

Wm. C. Requa was born at Mount Pleasant, N. Y., in 1796, and died in Bates county, Mo., at the age of 90, being the last member of the two missionary families to die.

George Requa

George Requa was born at Mt. Pleasant, N. Y., in 1798 but was residing at Sing Sing, N. Y., when he joined the original Union family.

His work was chiefly done at Union and Hopefield, where he did much good. His first wife was Sarah S. Klapp, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who arrived December 22, 1823. She died August 1825. His second wife was Mary H. Austin to whom he was married at Harmony October 25, 1827. She was a native of Waterbury, Vermont. George Requa was released from the service October 1, 1833.

Marcus Palmer

Dr. Marcus Palmer came to Union with the first Family, on February 18, 1821 and served as physician for the missionary family until 1828 when he withdrew and established a mission at Fairfield in the Cherokee nation. He was born in Greenwich, Conn., April 24, 1795. He was ordained minister at a conference held at Union October 10, 1825, and afterwards did much missionary work. Dr. Palmer was twice married, his first wife being Clarisa Johnson of Colchester, Connecticut, who died September 8, 1835. His second wife was a sister of the first, Miss Jerusha Johnson to whom he was married February 7, 1836.

George L. Weed

Dr. George L. Weed succeeded Dr. Palmer as physician at Union on February 5, 1828. He left Union May 1, 1832, to join the Creek mission. He was released from missionary service February 25, 1834. His wife was Miss Eliza H. Lathrop who was born in Pittsfield, Mass., March 20, 1800.

Samuel Newton

Samuel Newton was a member of the original Family at Harmony in 1821, and had charge of the farm. He moved to the Dwight mission in the Cherokee nation in February 1828. He was released October 9, 1838. While at Harmony he was married to Mrs. Seeley, widow of a former member of the Mission family. Date of the marriage, June 3, 1822. She died at Forks of Illinois, in the Cherokee Nation, March 30, 1835.

Daniel H. Austin

Daniel H. Austin and wife were members of the mission family that arrived at Harmony in August, 1821. The *Missionary Herald* part of the time listed Mr. Austin as assistant missionary, but most of the time he was classed as a mechanic and steward. He was a mill wright and carpenter, and had much to do with the erection of the buildings at Harmony. Shortly after his arrival there he erected a

water mill, but the current was too strong and the volume of water too great for the machinery he had. He therefore soon changed it to a horse mill. His career at the Mission was less colorful than that of the missionaries, his labors being rather in the background, but nevertheless he was quite useful there; in fact he was like a cog in the wheel necessary to keep things going in an even and steady way. He faithfully continued his services there as long as they were needed. He was released March 29, 1836, when the affairs of the Mission were being closed, and soon after, moved to the vicinity of Balltown, Missouri. Here he built the first mill in Vernon county, on the Osage river. It was a water mill. At first it was equipped to grind corn only, which was then the only grain in the district. Later he added equipment for sawing lumber. He sold the mill in 1837 to Cecil D. Ball, after whom Balltown was named. He continued to live in that locality until his death in 1852.

Mr. Austin was born in Winchester, Connecticut, February 2, 1778, but was residing at Waterbury, Vermont, when he enlisted with the United Foreign Missionary Society for service in the Osage country. His wife was Miss Lydi Hovey, born in Mansfield, Connecticut, September 27, 1784.

The Austin and Dodge families were close friends at Harmony, and continued that friendship after both moved to Balltown.

No extended notice can be given of a number connected with these missions because of the lack of data, but here are a few brief sketches:

Abraham Redfield

Abraham Redfield was with the Union mission family that arrived there in February, 1821, and remained there until the close, being released by the American Board on March 29, 1836. He was listed as a teacher and mechanic. He was born in Orange county, New York, in 1805. Three weeks after their arrival at Union he was married to Miss Phoebe Beach, who was also a member of the mission family. After they left Union, they settled in the vicinity of Deerfield, Missouri.

Samuel B. Bright

Samuel B. Bright was a member of the Harmony Mission family, and with the exception of a year or two spent at the Neosho Mission about 1826, he served as farmer at Harmony until he was released from the service December 16, 1834. He was born at Nazareth, N. J., but was living at Potts Grove, Pa., when he joined the missionary family. His wife was Charlotte Stoker, of Columbia county, Pa.

Richard Colby

Richard Colby served as a mechanic at Harmony from June 1, 1824 to December 16, 1834. He was born in Merrimac, N. H., in 1798. He was released from Harmony December 16, 1834.

Mary Etris

Mary Etris served as a teacher and assistant at Harmony from the beginning until the close and still remained in that locality after the close. She was born in Philadelphia December 16, 1785. She was released from Missionary service in 1836.

Mary C. Choate and Miss Elvira G. Perkins

Mary C. Choate and Miss Elvira G. Perkins came to Harmony with Rev. Dodge on his return trip from the east in May 1833, both being from Thetford, Vermont. Miss Choate spent most of her time at Boudinot where she served as teacher until her release July 22, 1834, when she was married to a man not connected with the missions. Miss Perkins remained at Harmony until her release in 1835.

Alexander Woodruff

Alexander Woodruff went to Union with the original family and served as blacksmith until about 1828 when he withdrew, and later moved to the vicinity of Deerfield, Mo.

Stephen Fuller

Stephen Fuller was also with the original missionary family at Union, serving in the capacity of farmer until about 1828 when he withdrew and began farming for himself.

Societies.

Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. I visited this Society a number of times and have found it an excellent source of information. There I found the Missioary Herald, the Annual Reports of the A.B.C.F.M., the Pelham or Tuttle Letters, McCleve's History of the Presbyterian Indian Missions, Gen. Geo. Clark's Papers, Isaac McCoy's Papers, Coule and Smith's History of Missions and many lesser sources of information utilized in compiling this book.

Oklahoma State Historical Society, Oklahoma City. I visited this Society twice. Their archives of original sources were very valuable to me. There I found the original copy of the Union Mission Journal in the hand writing of the missionaries. I have made use of a number of its pages in this book. I also consulted a number of books and records. They make a specialty of collecting Indian history, and have made remarkable progress.

State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia. I visited this Society only once, and then for a few hours only. My best source of information there was Thwaite's Travels. They have a large collection, and have been very generous in sending me valuable information by mail, when requested.

Missouri Historical Society St. Louis. I did not visit this Society, but acknowledge valuable help by mail.

Phillips Collection, in Library of the University of Oklahoma, Norman. This is an endowed historical addition to the University and is in charge of Prof. E. E. Dale. I visited it twice and obtained much valuable information. There I found Niles' Weekly Register, the American State Papers and many other books of history dealing with Indians and the Central West. This is an extra good source of information and continually growing better.

Archives of the St. Louis University. I spent only a few hours there, but found many, many letters and manuscripts relating to Osage history that have not been published. Most of it however refers to a later period than that covered by this book.

Cornell University Library, Ithica, N. Y., loaned us copies of The American Missionary Register.

University of Chicago Library, Chicago; loaned us copies of the American Missionary Register and also of the Missionary Herald.

Magazines, Periodicals.

Kansas Historical Quarterly, successor to the Kansas Historical Collections; published quarterly by the Kansas State Historical Society since 1931.

Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly since 1921, by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. Among the best of their kind. Contain much Indian history.

Missouri Historical Review, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia. Indispensable to writers of Missouri and Osage history.

Mid-America, An Historical Review, published quarterly by Loyola University, Chicago. Deals largely with the early history of the Mississippi. High class and well authenticated.

Osage Magazine, by C. J. Phillips, Pawhuska, Okla., 1909. Several articles relating to Osage history.

American Indian, published Monthly by Lee F. Harkins, Tulsa, Okla. From October 1926 to March 1931. Contains many articles pertinent to the subject of this book.

American Missionary Register published monthly by the United Foreign Missionary Society in New York from June 1820 to 1826. At first Z. Lewis was designated as the editor, but later it was published under the name of the Society. It contains all of the official reports connected with the founding of Union and Harmony, and many letters and reports from the missionaries, some of which are reproduced herein. When the U.F.M.S. was merged with the A.B.C.F.M. in 1826, the Register was consolidated with the Missionary Herald. A complete history of these missions would be next to impossible without the information published in the Register. Very few copies of the Register now exist. The University of Chicago Library has a complete set, and Cornell University, Ithica, N. Y., has five volumes. Both institutions placed their copies at our disposal for this work.

Missionary Herald, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, printed by Crocker & Brewster; published monthly and bound into volumes of 12 issues each, from 1819 to 1838. This was the largest single source of information for this work. Letters and reports copied from these volumes are quoted herein extensively. Copies of these volumes are found in the Kansas State historical library, Topeka; Oklahoma Historical Society library, Oklahoma City; in Phillips Collection, University library, Norman, Oklahoma, all of which we consulted. We also borrowed copies from the University of Chicago library.

Niles' Weekly Register, published in Baltimore from 1811 to 1837, then moved to Washington, D. C., 75 bound volumes. In Phillips Collection, University library, Norman, Okla. Contains copies of many official documents and reports relating to Indian affairs and missionary efforts. A valuable source of information.

Photostats.

Photographic or photostat copies of the following original documents contained in the National Archives Department of Interior, Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., afforded information used in this book; the photostat copies being in possession of the writer:

Pixley, Rev. B., Letters to the Secretary of War, as follows:

Osage Country, April 7, 1828.

Osage Nation, August 20, 1828.

Osage Country, April 27 1826.

Union Mission, January 7 1825.

Hamtramck, J. H. Major, U. S., Indian Agent letter dated Osage Agency, Nov. 27, 1828, in reply to criticisms of Rev. Pixley, accompanied by a number of statements signed by P. L. Chouteau and others supporting his side of the controversy. All were addressed to Secretary of Indian Affairs.

Clark, Wm., letters addressed to Col. T. H. McKenney: One dated St. Louis, July 3, 1825; one dated Washington City, Feb. 18, 1829, conveying the Hamtramck report.

McKenney, Thos. L., Supt. of Indian Affairs: One letter to Wm. Clark in reference to the Pixley-Hamtramck controversy, dated July 22, 1828; one to Jeremiah Evarts secy. of A.B.C.F.M., dated Feb. 20, 1829, suggesting the withdrawal of Rev. Pixley from Neosho Mission.

Eaton, John H., Department of War, letter to Maj. J. F. Hamtramck dismissing him from service as Indian agent, dated March 31, 1830.

Greene, David, letter to T. L. McKenney, office of Indian Affairs, dated Missionary Room, Boston, March 13, 1829, advising that Rev. Pixley would probably be recalled from Neosho mission soon.

Vaill, Rev. Wm. F., letters, and reports as follows:

To James Barbour, War Department, dated Union, Ark., Ter., Oct. 1, 1825, report of school, and suggesting that it be opened to all tribes.

To McKenney, dated Union Mission near Fort Gibson, Dec. 24, 1829, report of school with suggestions.

To McKenney dated Union, A. T., Feb. 20, 1829, report of school and suggestions. To Lewis Cass, Sec. of war, dated Union Mission, West of Arkansas Ter., Mar. 27, 1832; report of school and plea for its enlargement.

To Cass, report of school, dated Union Mission Station, Oct. 1, 1831.

To Cass, report, dated Union Mission, Sept. 30, 1830.

To Office of Indian Affairs, report of school, dated Sept. 30, 1825.

Dodge, Rev. N. B., reports of Harmony school for years 1825, 1826, 1827, to Department of Indian Affairs.

Chouteau, Stokes, and Redfield, appraisal committee, report of appraisal of Mission properties Dated April 11, 1837.

Greene, David, letters to Secretary of War, Lewis, Cass, concerning the property at Harmony and Union; one dated Missionary Room, Boston, Nov. 13, 1835; another dated same place, Feb. 4, 1836.

Harris, C. A., letter to appraisement committee dated, War Department, Office of Indian Affairs, Nov. 10 1834.

Kingsbury, C., agent for A.B.C.F.M., to the President of the U. S., relating to property of the missions.

Thesis and Manuscripts.

Harmony Mission, thesis by Miss Doris Denton of Butler, Mo., submitted to the Department of History of the Kansas University, of the Graduate school, in partial requirement for the degree of Master of Arts. Copy in the University of Kansas and in the files of the writer of this book. Miss Denton's home was not far from Harmony, and she displays unusual familiarity with her subject. It is well authenticated and quite accurate.

Indian Missions in Southeastern Kansas by Miss Grace Gilbert, thesis submitted to the graduate Division of the Kansas State Teacher's College Pittsburg, Kansas, in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science. Miss Gilbert made a number of trips to the scenes of these missions and gathered much first hand information which gives her thesis unusual historical value.

Letters and writings of Rev. Paul M. Ponziglione S. J., who spent several years among the Osages after the Presbyterians left.

The writings of Rev. Isaac McCoy, Baptist missionary, in archives of the Kansas State Historical Society. He visited Harmony, Neosho and Boudinot, and was active in Indian affairs.

Books and Pamphlets.

Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 73 volumes of letters and reports of the travels and explorations of the early French Jesuits. Published in Cleveland, 1896-1901.

Rothensteiner, Rev. John. History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, two volumes; Press of Blackwell Wielandy Co., St. Louis, 1928. Considerable Osage history is found in vol. 1.

History of Vernon County, Missouri; (Holecomb), Brown & Co., St. Louis, 1887. Contains much valuable information about Harmony Mission and of the Osages of that period.

History of Bates County Missouri, by Atkeson. Historical Publishing Co., Topeka and Cleveland. Good history of Harmony Mission and early Osages. Harmony was close to the line between Bates and Vernon Counties.

History of Neosho County, Kansas, by T. F. Rager. Monitor Printing Co., Ft. Scott, Kas., 1902. Short history of Neosho and Boudinot Missions.

History of Jackson County, Missouri, Union Historical Society, Birdsell, Williams & Co., Kansas City, 1881. History of Fort Osage.

Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary. J. P. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1885. Biographies.

History of the University of St. Louis, by Walter H. Hill, S. J., 1879. History of an Indian school in St. Louis, 1824-1830.

The Presbytery of Kansas City, by John B. Hill. Burd & Fletcher Printing Co., Kansas City, 1901. Some history of Harmony; much about the ministers connected therewith.

Catholic Missions Among the Indians of the United States, by J. G. Shea; Edward Dunigar & Brother New York. 1855. Indian history.

History of the Western Missions and Missionaries of the United States, by De Smet S. J. Much Osage history.

Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man, by A. H. Favour. University of North Carolina Press, 1935. The life story of Wm. S. Williams, the interpreter at Harmony who was of great help to the missionaries at the beginning.

Corondo and Quivera, by Paul Jones. Lyons Publishing Co., Lyons, Kas. 1937. Early contacts with Indians of Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma.

Tour of the Prairies, by Washington, Irving. John Murray, London, 1835. Indian history; his visits at Chouteau's trading post and among the Osages.

Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America, by Jonathan Carver; Key & Simpson, Philadelphia, 1796. Early Indian History.

Cherokee Messenger. by Althea Bass; University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. Indian history and the story of the first press in Oklahoma, at Union.

The Cherokee Indians, by T. V. Parker Ph. D.; The Grafton Press, New York, 1907. Relations between the Cherokees and Osages.

Westward with the Dragoons, the Journal of William Clark by Kate L. Gregg, Ph. D. The Ovid Bell Press, Fulton, Mo., 1937. The establishment of Ft. Osage.

Indians and Pioneers, by Grant Foreman; Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1930. Much valuable information about the Chouteaus, the missions and the Osages.

Our Wild Indians, by Col. R. I. Dodge; A. D. Worthington & Co., Hartford, Conn., 1885.

The American Indian, by Elijah Haines; *Mas-sin-na-gan Co.*, Chicago, 1888.

History of St. Louis, by J. Thomas Scharf; Louis H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, 1883. Osage history.

Missionary Records, Religious Tract Society, London; printed by J. Rider, London; not dated. Contains chapters relating to Osage and Cherokee missions.

The Jesuits of the Middle United States, by Gilber J. Garraghan, S. J. America Press, New York, 1938. Contains Fr. VanQuickenborne's report from the Osage country in 1827 and 1830. Also contains history of the Indian school in St. Louis, 1824-1830

Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, vol. 2., by Chas. J. Kappler; Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.; 1904. Contains copies of all treaties made by the government with Indian tribes.

North American Indians, by Geo. Catlin, 2 vol.; John Grant & Co., Edinburg, 1926. Catlin, an explorer visited the Osages in 1834, and wrote much about them.

History of Missouri, by Houck, 5 vol., R. R. Donnelly & Son, Chicago, 1908. A very fine history of Missouri containing much information of value for this book.

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